SIN IN MEDIEVAL AND EARLY MODERN CULTURE

The Tradition of the Seven Deadly Sins

Edited by RICHARD G. NEWHAUSER
and SUSAN J. RIDYARD

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Edited by

Richard G. Newhauser and Susan J. Ridyard

THE UNIVERSITY of York

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CONTENTS

List of Figures and Plates vii

List of Contributors ix

Acknowledgements xiii

List of Abbreviations xiv

Introduction 1
Richard G. Newhauser

I. THE SINS IN RELIGIOUS, INTELLECTUAL AND PASTORAL CONTEXTS

1. Working for Reform: *Acedia,* Benedict of Aniane and the Transformation of Working Culture in Carolingian Monasticism 19
James B. Williams

2. The Cultural Career of a 'Minor' Vice: Arrogance in the Medieval Treatise on Sin 43
Kiril Petkov

3. *Vices and Virtues*: A Reassessment of Manuscript Stowe 34 65
Cate Gunn

4. Aquinas on the Seven Deadly Sins: Tradition and Innovation 85
Eileen C. Sweeney

5. A Fifteenth-Century Sermon Enacts the Seven Deadly Sins 107
Holly Johnson

6. The Deadly Sins and Contemplative Politics: Gerson's Ordering of the Personal and Political Realms 132
Nancy McLoughlin

7. 'These Seaven Devils': The Capital Vices on the Way to Modernity 157
Richard G. Newhauser

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II. THE SINS IN THE MUSICAL, LITERARY AND VISUAL ARTS

8. The Seven Deadly Sins in Medieval Music 191
Anne Walters Robertson

9. The Religion of the Mountain: Handling Sin in Dante's *Purgatorio* 223
Peter S. Hawkins

10. John Gower's Shaping of 'The Tale of Constance' as an *Exemplum contra* Envy 239
Carol Jamison

11. Through Boschian Eyes: An Interpretation of the Prado *Tabletop of the Seven Deadly Sins* 261
Henry Luttikhuizen

12. Singing Sin: Michel Beheim's 'Little Book of the Seven Deadly Sins', a German Pre-Reformation Religious Text for the Laity 282
William C. McDonald

13. Raising Cain: Vice, Virtue and Social Order in the German Reformation 304
Kathleen Crowther

Index 321

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FIGURES AND PLATES

Fig. 4.1	The Placement of the Seven Capital Vices (and their Offspring) in *ST* 2a 2ae	102
Fig. 4.2	Correlation of Virtues, Gifts and Beatitudes in *ST* 2a 2ae and Vices, Virtues, Gifts and Beatitudes in Hugh of St Victor	106
Plate 7.1	'The platt of The Secound parte of the Seuen Deadlie Sinns': London, Dulwich College MS XIX.	177
Plate 7.2	The Sin of Pride, from John Goddard, *The Seaven deadly Sins*.	184
Music Ex. 8.1	Philip the Chancellor's Conductus *Veritas equitas* (st. 1–3)	196
Music Ex. 8.2	Philip the Chancellor's Conductus *Vitia virtutibus* (st. 1–5)	200
Music Ex. 8.3	Motet *Floret / Florens / Neuma* (opening)	204
Text 8.1	The Sins in the *Floret* Motet, compared with Gregory the Great	207
Text 8.2	Prose *Carnalitas luxuria* from the *Roman de Fauvel*	211
Text 8.3	Motet *Facilius a nobis/Alieni boni/Imperfecte canite* from the *Roman de Fauvel*	212
Text 8.4	Machaut's Motet 9	216
Plate 11.1	Hieronymus Bosch and Workshop (?), *Tabletop of the Seven Deadly Sins*, *c*. 1510. Museo del Prado, Madrid	260
Plate 11.2	Sloth. Detail from *Tabletop of the Seven Deadly Sins*	265
Plate 11.3	Lust. Detail from *Tabletop of the Seven Deadly Sins*	267
Plate 11.4	Pride. Detail from *Tabletop of the Seven Deadly Sins*	268
Plate 11.5	Envy. Detail from *Tabletop of the Seven Deadly Sins*	271
Plate 11.6	Hieronymus Bosch, *The Field has Eyes, the Forest has Ears*, *c*. 1500. Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin	279

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CONTRIBUTORS

Kathleen Crowther is Associate Professor in the History of Science Department at the University of Oklahoma. Her first book, *Adam and Eve in the Protestant Reformation* (Cambridge, 2010), explores the importance of stories about Adam and Eve in sixteenth-century German Lutheran areas and analyzes their place in the construction of Lutheran culture and identity. She has also published articles on Adam and Eve and Lutheran culture in *Isis* and *Renaissance Quarterly*, and has an essay forthcoming in *'Wading Lambs and Swimming Elephants': The Bible for the Laity and Theologians in the Medieval and Early Modern Era*, ed. W. François and A. den Hollander (Leuven). She is currently working on a book about vice, virtue and social ethics in Protestant culture. E-mail: kcrowther@ou.edu.

Cate Gunn teaches in the Literature, Film and Theatre Department of the University of Essex. Her publications include *Ancrene Wisse: From Pastoral Literature to Vernacular Spirituality* (Cardiff, 2008); the edited volume *Texts and Traditions of Medieval Pastoral Care: Essays in Honour of Bella Millett* (York, 2009) (with C. Innes-Parker), to which she also contributed an essay on 'Middle English Versions and Audiences of Edmund of Abingdon's *Speculum religiosorum*'; and articles on *Ancrene Wisse*. She is now researching more widely in the field of pastoral literature and is planning to do further research on Edmund of Abingdon's *Speculum religiosorum*, in particular its translation for lay and female readerships. She is at present preparing a paper on *Vices and Virtues* and the afterlife. E-mail: cegunn@essex.ac.uk.

Peter S. Hawkins is Professor of Religion and Literature at Yale Divinity School, where he also teaches in Yale College's Directed Studies Program. His recent publications include *Dante: A Brief History* (Malden, 2006); *Undiscovered Country: Imagining the World to Come* (New York, 2009); and the edited volume *Medieval Readings of Romans* (New York, 2007) (with W. S. Campbell and B. Schildgen). He is currently working on essays on the Psalms and poetry for *The Oxford Handbook of the Psalms*, ed. W. P. Brown (New York and Oxford); and on medieval lay religion for *Dante in Context*, ed. L. Pertile and Z. Baranski (Cambridge). E-mail: peter.hawkins@yale.edu.

Carol Parrish Jamison is Professor of Medieval Literature and Linguistics at Armstrong Atlantic State University in Savannah, Georgia, where she teaches courses including Chaucer, Early English Literature, Arthurian Literature, and History of the English Language. Recent publications include 'The New Seven Deadly Sins', in *Defining Medievalism(s) II*, ed. K. Fugelso (Cambridge, 2009);

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'The Play and Meaning of Courtoisie in *Romanz de un chivaler et de sa dame et de un clerk*', *Studies in Philology* 106.1 (2009); 'King Arthur Online', *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Teaching* 12.1 (2005); and 'Traffic of Women in Germanic Literature', *Women in German Yearbook* 20 (2004). She is currently researching the role of chivalry in Malory's 'Balin, the Knight with Two Swords'. E-mail: Carol.Jamison@armstrong.edu.

Holly Johnson is Associate Professor of English at Mississippi State University and specializes in late medieval sermons. Her publications include 'The Hard Bed of the Cross: Good Friday Preaching and the Seven Deadly Sins', in *The Seven Deadly Sins: From Communities to Individuals*, ed. R. Newhauser (Leiden, 2007), and 'God's Music-Making: The Cross-Harp Metaphor in Late-Medieval Preaching', *Medieval Perspectives* 22 (2007 [2011]). Her forthcoming volume, *The Grammar of Good Friday: Macaronic Sermons of Late Medieval England* (Turnhout), includes a study and edition with translation of five Good Friday sermons preached during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. She is currently working on the sermons of Master Robert Rypon, an early fifteenth-century monk of Durham Priory who preached extensively on the seven deadly sins. E-mail: hjohnson@english.msstate.edu.

Henry Luttikhuizen is Professor of Art History at Calvin College (Grand Rapids, MI). He is co-author of the second editions of *Northern Renaissance Art: Painting, Sculpture, the Graphic Arts from 1350 to 1575* (Upper Saddle River, NJ, 2005) (with J. Snyder and L. Silver); and *Snyder's Medieval Art* (Upper Saddle River, 2006) (with D. Verkerk). He recently curated the exhibition *The Humor and Wit of Pieter Bruegel the Elder* (Calvin College, 2010). He is currently completing a book examining the relationship between art and devotion in the northern Netherlands at the close of the fifteenth century. His future research plans include a study of Boschian imagery produced in sixteenth-century Antwerp. E-mail: lutt@calvin.edu.

William C. McDonald is Professor of German at the University of Virginia. His publications on Michel Beheim include *'Whose Bread I Eat.' The Song-Poetry of Michel Beheim* (Göppingen, 1981) and articles concerning Beheim's denunciation of sin: 'Michel Beheim's Literary Assault on the "Sin against Nature". A Neglected 15th-Century Text on Sodomy', *Daphnis* 38 (2009); 'Armed Conflict as a Deadly Sin: Michel Beheim's Verses on Wrath (1457–*c.*1470)', in *War and Peace: Critical Issues in European Societies and Literature, 800–1800*, ed. N. Margolis and A. Classen (Berlin, 2011); 'Michel Beheim's Image of Sin: Concerning his Song-Poem "Der besluss über dis buch" (202*), *c.*1470', *Mediävistik* 24 (2011); and 'The World as Woman: Two Late Medieval Song-Poems on Frau Welt by Michel Beheim', *Modern Philology* (forthcoming). E-mail: wcm@virginia.edu.

Nancy McLoughlin is Assistant Professor of Medieval European History at the University of California, Irvine, where she specializes in late medieval intellectual and gender history. She has published two articles on the late

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medieval theologian, Jean Gerson: 'Personal Narrative and the Systematization of Knowledge in the Thought of Jean Gerson', *Mediaevalia* 29 (2008); and 'Jean Gerson as Secular Priest and University Master', in *A Companion to Jean Gerson*, ed. B. P. McGuire, Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition 3 (Leiden and Boston, 2006). She is currently working on a monograph investigating Gerson's personification of the University of Paris as the daughter of the king and a second project addressing the role that the secular-mendicant conflict played in the development of Gerson's thought. E-mail: nmclough@uci.edu.

Richard G. Newhauser is Professor of English and Medieval Studies at Arizona State University, Tempe. His recent publications on the history of the vices and virtues include a translation of Peter of Limoges, *The Moral Treatise on the Eye* (Toronto, 2012); *A Supplement to Morton W. Bloomfield et al., 'Incipits of Latin Works on the Virtues and Vices, 1100–1500 A.D.'* (Turnhout, 2008) (with I. Bejczy); a study of the *Treatise on Faith* in William Peraldus's *Summa on the Virtues*; and 'A Hybrid Life of John the Baptist: The Middle English Text of MS Harley 2250', *Anglia* 130.2 (2012) (with W. Bolton). His current research includes a critical edition of Peter of Limoges's text and a collective edition and translation of the *Summa on the Vices* by William Peraldus. E-mail: Richard.Newhauser@asu.edu.

Kiril Petkov is Associate Professor of Mediterranean History, University of Wisconsin-River Falls. His recent publications include two edited volumes: *Church and State: Studies in Medieval Bulgaria and Byzantium* (Sofia, 2011) (with V. Gjuzelev); and *Philippe de Mézières and his Age: Piety and Politics in the Fourteenth Century* (Leiden and Boston, 2011) (with R. Blumenfeld-Kosinski); and articles on Mediterranean history: 'Crusade, Hybridity, and Cypriot Self-Identity: Leontios Makhairas and the Feudal Order of Late Medieval Cyprus', *Bulgaria Mediaevalis* 2 (2011); 'Kiss and Make Up? Ritual Reconciliation in Frankish Morea and its Narrative Reflections', in *War and Peace: Critical Issues in European Societies and Literature, 800–1800*, ed. A. Classen and N. Margolis (Berlin, 2011). His current research deals with relics, miracles and social identity in fifteenth-century Venice. E-mail: kiril.petkov@uwrf.edu.

Susan J. Ridyard is Professor of History at Sewanee: The University of the South and Director of the Sewanee Medieval Colloquium. Her published works include *The Royal Saints of Anglo-Saxon England: A Study of West Saxon and East Anglian Cults* (Cambridge, 1988) and 'Functions of a Twelfth-Century Recluse Revisited: The Case of Godric of Finchale', in *Belief and Culture in the Middle Ages: Studies Presented to Henry Mayr-Harting*, ed. R. Gameson and H. Leyser (Oxford, 2001). Since 1990 she has also edited or co-edited ten volumes of essays selected from presentations at the annual Sewanee Medieval Colloquium. She is currently working on an edition and translation of the early fourteenth-century canonization process of Thomas Cantilupe, bishop of Hereford. E-mail: sridyard@sewanee.edu.

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Anne Walters Robertson is the Claire Dux Swift Distinguished Service Professor of Music at the University of Chicago. Her major publications include *The Service Books of the Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis: Images of Ritual and Music in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1991); *Guillaume de Machaut and Reims: Context and Meaning in his Musical Works* (Cambridge, 2002); 'The Savior, the Woman, and the Head of the Dragon in the *Caput* Masses and Motet', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 59 (2006); and 'The Man with the Pale Face, the Shroud, and Du Fay's *Missa Se la face ay pale*', *Journal of Musicology* 27 (2010). Her current work focuses on the interaction of late medieval music with affective theology and art. Email: awrx@uchicago.edu.

Eileen C. Sweeney is Professor of Philosophy at Boston College. She is the author of *Logic, Theology, and Poetry in Boethius, Abelard, and Alan of Lille: Words in the Absence of Things* (New York, 2006) and *Anselm of Canterbury and the Desire for the Word* (Washington, 2012), as well as a number of articles on Thomas Aquinas in the areas of metaphysics, natural theology and ethics. She is currently working on the development of the notion of science in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, theories of the passions from the Middle Ages to the modern period, and the notion of nature in Thomas Aquinas. She has ongoing interests in the philosophy of language and theories of literary and theological language. E-mail: eileen.sweeney@bc.edu.

James B. Williams currently serves as Assistant Professor of History in the Department of History and Political Science at the University of Indianapolis. He received the 2010 Distinguished Dissertation Award from Purdue University's College of Liberal Arts for his dissertation, 'The Adoptive Son of God, the Pregnant Virgin, and the Fortification of the True Faith: Heterodoxy, the Cult of the Virgin Mary, and Benedict of Aniane in the Carolingian Age'. He has published articles in *The Early Peoples of Britain and Ireland: An Encyclopedia* and *Tennessee Historical Quarterly*. He has also recently completed a study titled 'Forming Orthodoxy through Friendship: Alcuin, Guarnarius, and Benedict of Aniane's *Munimenta verae fidei*'. E-mail: williamsjb@uindy.edu.

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We are also grateful to the Kegyesrendi Központi Könyvtár, Budapest, for permission to reproduce MS CX.2, fol. 250v (anno 1413): Ulrich of Lilienfeld (?), *Conflictus 'In campo mundi'*: the sin of envy; the Governors of Dulwich College, London, for kind permission to reproduce MS XIX: 'The platt of The Secound parte of the Seuen Deadlie Sinns'; Art Resource, New York, for permission to reproduce Hieronymus Bosch, *Tabletop of the Seven Deadly Sins* and *The Field has Eyes, the Forest has Ears*; and The Huntington Library, San Marino, California, for permission to reproduce RB479697: the sin of pride, from John Goddard, *The Seaven deadly Sins* ([London]: soulde by Thomas Jenner, [*c.* 1630?]).

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ABBREVIATIONS

Bloomfield, *Sins*	M. W. Bloomfield, *The Seven Deadly Sins: An Introduction to the History of a Religious Concept, with Special Reference to Medieval English Literature* ([East Lansing], 1952; reprint, 1967).
Bossy, 'Arithmetic'	J. Bossy, 'Moral Arithmetic: Seven Sins into Ten Commandments', in *Conscience and Casuistry in Early Modern Europe*, ed. E. Leites (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 214–34.
Casagrande and Vecchio, *Vizi*	C. Casagrande and S. Vecchio, *I sette vizi capitali: Storia dei peccati nel Medioevo*, Saggi 832 (Turin, 2000).
CCCM	Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Medieualis (Turnhout).
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina (Turnhout).
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum (Vienna).
EETS ES	Early English Text Society, Extra Series (London).
EETS OS	Early English Text Society, Original Series (London).
Garden of Evil	*In the Garden of Evil: The Vices and Culture in the Middle Ages*, ed. R. Newhauser, Papers in Mediaeval Studies 18 (Toronto, 2005).
Laster im Mittelalter	*Laster im Mittelalter / Vices in the Middle Ages*, ed. C. Flüeler and M. Rohde. Scrinium Friburgense / Veröffentlichungen des Mediävistischen Instituts der Universität Freiburg 23 (Berlin, 2009).
m.	measure (bar), in music
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica (Hannover).
Newhauser, *Greed*	R. Newhauser, *The Early History of Greed: The Sin of Avarice in Early Medieval Thought and Literature*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature 41 (Cambridge, 2000; reprint, 2006).

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Newhauser, *Sin*	R. Newhauser, *Sin: Essays on the Moral Tradition in the Western Middle Ages*, Variorum Collected Studies Series CS869 (Aldershot, 2007).
Newhauser, *Treatise*	R. Newhauser, *The Treatise on Vices and Virtues in Latin and the Vernacular*, Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental 68 (Turnhout, 1993).
Pecar	*Pecar en la Edad Media*, ed. A. I. Carrasco Manchado and M. del Pilar Rábade Obradó (Madrid, 2008).
PL	Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Latina, ed. J.-P. Migne. 221 vols (Paris, 1844–98).
Seven Deadly Sins	*The Seven Deadly Sins: From Communities to Individuals*, ed. R. Newhauser, Studies in Medieval and Reformation Traditions: History, Culture, Religion, Ideas 123 (Leiden, 2007).
Wenzel, 'Problems'	S. Wenzel, 'The Seven Deadly Sins: Some Problems of Research', *Speculum* 43 (1968), 1–22.
Wenzel, *Sloth*	S. Wenzel, *The Sin of Sloth: Acedia in Medieval Thought and Literature* (Chapel Hill, 1967).

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INTRODUCTION

Understanding Sin: Recent Scholarship and the Capital Vices

Richard G. Newhauser, Arizona State University, Tempe

The study of the vices has developed new sets of interests since the first vigorous and now classic examination in English of the topic of the seven deadly sins by Morton Bloomfield.[1] The present collection of essays, which were initiated in a Summer Seminar in 2006 sponsored by the National Endowment for the Humanities and at the annual Sewanee Medieval Colloquium in 2007, offers to readers in a variety of disciplines some of the newest research in these areas. Bloomfield's pioneering work built on the scholarship of earlier generations and surveyed an impressive number of occurrences of the capital vices in discursive and literary texts from Late Antiquity to the end of the Middle Ages.[2] His pathbreaking work on the vices also came to include the survey of Latin manuscripts transmitting information on the sins and virtues in the later Middle Ages.[3] As the use of Bloomfield's scholarship by a number of the contributions to the present volume demonstrates, his work has remained consistently important since the date of its initial publication, though at times as much for the questions it did not ask as for those it opened up to further critical inquiry.[4] It set the stage for an understanding of the utility of examining the vices in the context of the history of ideas and of monastic psychology,[5] and

1 Bloomfield, *Sins*.

2 Among Bloomfield's more important precursors, see especially O. Zöckler, *Das Lehrstück von den sieben Hauptsünden*, in O. Zöckler, *Biblische und kirchenhistorische Studien* (Munich, 1893), III.

3 M. W. Bloomfield *et al.*, *Incipits of Latin Works on the Virtues and Vices, 1100–1500 A.D.*, Publications of the Mediaeval Academy of America 88 (Cambridge, MA, 1979). The information here is corrected and supplemented by R. Newhauser and I. Bejczy, *A Supplement to Morton W. Bloomfield et al., 'Incipits of Latin Works on the Virtues and Vices, 1100–1500 A.D.'*, Instrumenta Patristica et Mediaevalia, Research on the Inheritance of Early and Medieval Christianity 50 (Turnhout, 2008).

4 For a reassessment of Bloomfield's view of the treatment of the capital vices by medieval contemplatives, see M. Kuczynski, 'Sin and the Vices in the Middle English Mystics', in *Garden of Evil*, pp. 206–33.

5 For some recent studies, see J. Plotz, 'Their Noonday Demons and Ours', *The New York Times* (23 December 2011), at http://www.nytimes.com (accessed 17 May 2012); J. Wharff, 'Aelred of Rievaulx on Envy and Gratitude', *Cistercian Studies*

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especially as the inspirations for literary creativity in the Middle Ages, and in particular in Middle English literature.[6] The essays here by Peter S. Hawkins and Carol Jamison (on Dante and Gower respectively) and James B. Williams (on Carolingian monasticism) take up lines of inquiry begun by Bloomfield, but they also reveal the deepening awareness, especially in the past decade, of the need to critically contextualize the role played by the sins in an author's oeuvre or an ecclesiastical institution. Such critically framed historical and social concerns, the need to embed the vices in the cultural practices they can be seen articulating and the social (un)acceptability of the behavior they helped define, were given at times brief space at best in Bloomfield's study.

Many other areas represented in the present collection have emerged in the past decade as fruitful avenues for research unanticipated by Bloomfield. Though the use of the sins in academic theology was not emphasized by his influential work, the necessity of including scholastic *summae* in more thorough examinations of the vices was accentuated by Siegfried Wenzel.[7] It has found new emphasis recently as critical editions of scholastic texts have advanced. These new texts have helped make clear to what extent the septenary of sins remained of central importance, was subsumed into systems of virtue or was ignored altogether in later academic theology.[8] Nevertheless, in the seminal texts by Peter Lombard and, even more important, Thomas Aquinas and other great masters of theology of the thirteenth century, the heptad of vices remained a common element in the theological discourse on sin. In particular, Aquinas – to whose complex treatment of the vices Eileen C. Sweeney has dedicated a careful

Quarterly 43,1 (2008), 1–15; D. Brakke, *Demons and the Making of the Monk: Spiritual Combat in Early Christianity* (Cambridge, MA, 2006); A. Crislip, 'The Sin of Sloth or the Illness of Demons? The Demon of Acedia in Early Christian Monasticism', *Harvard Theological Review* (2005), 143–69; C. Stewart, 'Evagrius Ponticus and the "Eight Generic Logismoi"', in *Garden of Evil*, pp. 3–34; R. E. Jehl, '*Acedia* and Burnout Syndrome: From an Occupational Vice of the Early Monks to a Psychological Concept in Secularized Professional Life', trans. A. Németh-Newhauser, in *Garden of Evil*, pp. 455–76; P. Deseille, 'Acedia according to the Monastic Tradition', *Cistercian Studies Quarterly* 37,3 (2002), 297–302; S. Kinsella, 'Covetousness and Renunciation in Book VII of the Institutes of John Cassian', *Studia Monastica* 40 (1998), 203–12.

6 See for example on Middle English literature, among numerous other studies: R. Stanton, 'Lechery, Pride, and the Uses of Sin in *The Book of Margery Kempe*', *Journal of Medieval Religious Cultures* 36,2 (2010), 169–204; D. G. Pitard, 'Greed and Anti-Fraternalism in Chaucer's "Summoner's Tale"', in *Seven Deadly Sins*, pp. 207–27; F. N. Ackerman, '"I may do no penaunce": Spiritual Sloth in Malory's *Morte*', *Arthuriana* 16,1 (2006), 47–53; A. Blamires, *Chaucer, Ethics, and Gender* (Oxford, 2006); R. F. Green, 'Morality and Immorality', in *A Concise Companion to Chaucer*, ed. C. Saunders (Maldon, 2006), pp. 199–217; K. C. Little, *Confession and Resistance: Defining the Self in Late Medieval England* (Notre Dame, 2006); N. F. McDonald, '"Lusti Tresor": Avarice and the Economics of the Erotic in Gower's *Confessio Amantis*', in *Treasure in the Medieval West*, ed. E. M. Tyler (York, 2000), pp. 135–56.

7 Wenzel, 'Problems'.

8 The case for the limitations of the septenary in later scholastic texts is made by B. Kent, 'On the Track of Lust: *Luxuria*, Ockham, and the Scientists', in *Garden of Evil*, pp. 349–70.

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examination here – provides an example of the explanatory power of the system of seven sins at the medieval university in the articulation of what has recently been called a 'philosophical anthropology'. In Thomas's system:

> the problem with the capital vices is: they make the good that is the object of internal drives (*Antriebsgute*) on which they set their hearts into an absolute, they take it to an extreme and elevate it over everything and everyone else – pride and envy, a self-assertion vis-à-vis others; avarice, the drive to self-preservation; lust, the sex drive; gluttony, the drive for sustenance.[9]

Far removed from a merely practical purpose, in Aquinas's work the seven deadly sins reveal themselves to be exactly one of those 'key notions which . . . gave new insights into the meaning of life or the nature of man. . .'[10] For this reason, the septenary has recently come to be seen as part of the statement of what it meant to be human in the Middle Ages, which is to say it has been studied in terms of medieval anthropology.[11]

But a great deal of new research has also been devoted to the practical uses of the vice heptad that unfolded in the pronounced emphasis on confession and preaching following the Fourth Lateran Council (1215–16) and to the vast expansion of the literature of pastoral care. Bloomfield gave much attention to the presence of the sins in homiletic literature, but newer work has clarified the precise ways in which the sins were used in sermons, the particular audiences who were envisioned by preachers as the targets for specific appeals to moral improvement and the ways in which preachers used the sins as the vehicles of psychological insights.[12] The use of the sins in confession has been the subject of an important book by Roberto Rusconi.[13] The many functions of the vices in preaching have been detailed by a growing number of studies,[14] and

9 C. Schäfer, 'Die Hauptlasterlehre des Thomas von Aquin als philosophische Anthropologie: Das Beispiel des Zinsnahmeverbots', in *Laster im Mittelalter*, pp. 139–66 (p. 144): '[Denn] das Problem mit den Hauptlastern ist: sie verabsolutieren das Antriebsgute, auf das sie sich kaprizieren, sie treiben es auf die Spitze und erheben es über alles andere und jeden anderen – der Hochmut und der Neid die Selbstbehauptung gegenüber anderen, die Habgier den Selbsterhaltungstrieb, die Wollust den Sexualtrieb, die Völlerei den Ernährungstrieb.' See also S. E. Young, '*Sicut in lapide*: *Avaritia* and Aristotle's *Libri Naturales* at Paris in the Early Thirteenth Century', *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* 3rd s. 8 (2011), 197–225; B. K. Balint, 'Envy in the Intellectual Discourse of the High Middle Ages', in *Seven Deadly Sins*, pp. 41–55; S. Vecchio, 'The Seven Deadly Sins between Pastoral Care and Scholastic Theology: The *Summa de vitiis* by John of Rupella', trans. H. Took, in *Garden of Evil*, pp. 104–27.

10 Wenzel, 'Problems', p. 12.

11 R. Newhauser, 'The Capital Vices as Medieval Anthropology', in *Laster im Mittelalter*, pp. 105–23; T. Parisi, 'Freud as Virgil: the Anthropologies of Psychoanalysis and the *Commedia*', in *Seven Deadly Sins*, pp. 257–74.

12 S. Wenzel, 'Preaching the Seven Deadly Sins', in *Garden of Evil*, pp. 145–69.

13 R. Rusconi, *L'ordine dei peccati: la confessione tra Medioevo ed età moderna* (Bologna, 2002).

14 See, for a few recent examples, K. A. Rivers, *Preaching the Memory of Virtue and Vice:*

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as a representative of this line of inquiry Holly Johnson focuses in the present volume on the way the sins are used by a late medieval preacher to make the Redemption a tangible reality. The production of sermon aids and other *pastoralia* that supplied preachers with material on sin and virtue increased dramatically after Lateran IV, and the investigation of these texts, especially the *Summa de vitiis* by William Peraldus, has been the focus of a large number of recent essays.[15] Even before Lateran IV, of course, the sins functioned in the

Memory, Images, and Preaching in the Late Middle Ages, Sermo 4 (Turnhout, 2010), especially on the use of the sins in the exemplary 'pictures' of the classicizing friars and their successors and in the functions of memory and mnemonic techniques in medieval preaching; R. S. Bastida, 'La construcción del sermón: la "literaturización" del pecado y de lo heterodoxo en la prosa homilética', in *Pecar*, pp. 361–77; H. Johnson, '"The Hard Bed of the Cross": Good Friday Preaching and the Seven Deadly Sins', in *Seven Deadly Sins*, pp. 129–44; M. de Reu, 'A Statistical Treatment of Sin and Holiness in Sermons from the Early Middle Ages (500–1100)', in *Speculum Sermonis: Interdisciplinary Reflections on the Medieval Sermon*, ed. G. Donavin, C. J. Nederman and R. Utz, Disputatio 1 (Turnhout, 2004), pp. 335–61; M. de Reu, 'Vertues chrétiennes et vices démoniaques aux Xe et XIe siècle', in *Predicazione e società nel Medioevo: riflessione etica, valori e modelli di comportamento / Preaching and Society in the Middle Ages: Ethics, Values and Social Behaviour, Proceedings of the XII Medieval Sermon Studies Symposium, Padova, 14–18 iuglio 2000*, ed. L. Gaffuri and R. Quinto, Centro Studi Antoniani 35 (Padua, 2002), pp. 93–118; K. C. Little, 'Catechesis and Castigation: Sin in the Wycliffite Sermon Cycle', *Traditio* 54 (1999), 213–44, for treatments of sin in sermons that do not depend on the formulation of the seven deadly sins; A. J. Fletcher, 'Performing the Seven Deadly Sins: How One Late-Medieval English Preacher Did It', *Leeds Studies in English* n.s. 29 (1998), 89–108; C. Woods, 'Six New Sermons by Hrabanus Maurus on the Virtues and Vices', *Revue bénédictine* 107,3–4 (1997), 280–306. For a study of preaching that uses a threefold division of sin developed on the basis of 1John 2. 16, see N. Bériou, *L'avènement des maîtres de la Parole: La prédication à Paris au XIIIe siècle*, 2 vols., Collection des Études Augustiniennes, Série Moyen Âge et Temps Modernes 31 and 32 (Paris, 1998), I, 63, 325, 382, 427–8.

15 For some examples: K. Wolf, '*Propter utilitatem populi: durch des nucz willen seines volkes*. Die "staatstragende" Rezeption der "Summa de vitiis" des Guilelmus Peraldus in der spätmittelalterlichen Wiener Schule', in *Laster im Mittelalter*, pp. 187–99; E. D. Craun, '"It is a freletee of flessh": Excuses for Sin, Pastoral Rhetoric, and Moral Agency', in *Garden of Evil*, pp. 170–92; F. N. M. Diekstra, 'The Art of Denunciation: Medieval Moralists on Envy and Detraction', in *Garden of Evil*, pp. 431–54; I. P. Bejczy, 'John of La Rochelle and William Peraldus on the Virtues and Vices', *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 97 (2004), 99–110; R. Newhauser, 'The Parson's Tale', in *Sources and Analogues of the Canterbury Tales*, ed. R. M. Correale with M. Hamel, 2 vols, Chaucer Studies 28 and 35 (Cambridge, 2002; reprint, 2003), I, 529–613. Peraldus's *Summa de virtutibus* has also been the subject of a number of studies by M. Verweij; see his survey of the manuscripts in 'The Manuscript Transmission of the *Summa De Virtutibus* by Guillielmus Peraldus. A Preliminary Survey of the Manuscripts', *Medioevo* 31 (2006), 103–296. For sin and virtues in the pastoral work of Robert Grosseteste, see the recent essay by J. R. Ginther, 'Robert Grosseteste's Theology of Pastoral Care', in *A Companion to Pastoral Care in the Late Middle Ages (1200–1500)*, ed. R. J. Stansbury, Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition 22 (Leiden, 2010), pp. 95–122.

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pastoral literature of reform, as Cate Gunn's contribution here documents in its examination of the early Middle English dialogue known as *Vices and Virtues*.[16] Nor is the work of preaching merely a matter of the practical presentation of what is more theoretically treated elsewhere, for recent scholarship has demonstrated that sermons often contain thorough analyses of the separate sins and the very idea of sin itself, something that is articulated, for example, in the ways in which the vices are seen in relationship to allied, and opposed, systems of 'contrary virtues'.[17]

To better fulfill their pastoral duties in a society becoming more specialized, preachers and confessors in the High and Late Middle Ages differentiated those receiving their homiletic instruction and penitential advice on the basis of their station in life. The resulting sermons designed for specific estates or professional groups (*sermones ad status*) and other forms of analysis for and about particular classes of Christians and their moral failings (mirrors for princes, estates satires, etc.) have been the objects of deepening scholarly attention, and with them the distinctive views of the sins of such groups inscribed by this literature. The critique of the clergy stands out in a number of the studies already referred to,[18] but two further groups deserve mention. The nobility, and in particular rulers, have been the focus of hamartiological attention for the way in which the literature on the seven vices designed for an aristocratic audience also becomes a decidedly political discourse, something that begins early in the Middle Ages and carries through into the early modern period.[19] Perhaps even more attention has been paid recently to the foregrounding of women as a distinctive group in medieval moral analysis. Here, one can note a number of studies that demonstrate the ways in which clerical misogyny typified expressions of particular sins (pride, and especially lust) as characteristic of women.[20] In the present volume, Nancy McLoughlin's essay contributes

16 For an examination of some late twelfth-century and early thirteenth-century pastoral works in Latin, see also A. Diem, 'Virtues and Vices in Early Texts on Pastoral Care', *Franciscan Studies* 62 (2004), 193–223.

17 R. Newhauser, 'Preaching the "Contrary Virtues"', *Mediaeval Studies* 70 (2008), 135–62.

18 See also A. A. Guzmán, 'Amores desordenados y otros pecadillos del clero', in *Pecar*, pp. 227–62.

19 K. Ubl, 'Die Laster des Fürsten. Theorie und Praxis der Königsabsetzung um 1300', in *Laster im Mittelalter*, pp. 167–85; E. G. Crespo, 'Pecados de los monarcas en la Baja Edad Media', in *Pecar*, pp. 27–53; M. C. Q. Raso, '"Nobilitas virtutis causa". De la virtud al pecado en la nobleza', in *Pecar*, pp. 147–83; D. D. Allman, 'Sin and the Construction of Carolingian Kingship', in *Seven Deadly Sins*, pp. 21–40.

20 C. S. Graiño, 'El pecado y los pecados de las mujeres', in *Pecar*, pp. 209–25; L. Postlewate, 'Preaching the Sins of the Ladies: Nicole Bozon's "Char d'orgueil"', in *Cultural Performances in Medieval France: Essays in Honor of Nancy Freeman Regalado*, ed. E. Doss-Quinby, R. L. Krueger and E. J. Burns, Gallica 5 (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 181–93; E. Schmid, 'Lüsternheit: Ein Körperkonzept im Artusroman', in *Körperkonzepte im arthurischen Roman*, ed. F. Wolfzettel (Tübingen, 2007), pp. 131–47; Y. Pinson, 'The femme fatale – Eve/Venus/Luxuria', in *Pictorial Languages and their Meanings: Liber Amicorum in Honor of Nurith Kenaan-Kedar*, ed. C. B. Verzar and

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to the scholarship on both of these areas, demonstrating how Jean Gerson deployed the capital vices in political discourse at court and in creating the image of the University of Paris as the visionary daughter of the king.

Of course, the pastoral functions of giving and receiving catechetical lessons and preparing for the meditative introspection needed for confession are not accomplished by verbal communication alone. As Walter Ong noted a number of years ago (though Ong himself was focused on the verbal), 'man communicates with his whole body through all his senses'.[21] The growing importance of the sensorium (the totality of sensations, perceptions and their interpretations within a culture) in the study of history, closely related to the focus on the body in the historical study of culture, can be observed in scholarship on the sin heptad, as well. Medieval conceptions of the vices by theologians, especially in the later Middle Ages, were often aligned with systems of analysis of the five corporeal senses.[22] But in the study of the vices (as in so much else in the scholarship of Western culture), the sense of sight has predominated. Indeed, in the orality theory of Marshall McLuhan, Walter Ong and others, visuality became the characteristic sense of modernity, overshadowing the other four external senses, while in premodernity the 'proximate' senses (smell, taste and touch) were thought to be more important. Though influential, this model of a 'Great Divide' between modernity and what came before it is far too binary and inflexible,[23] but it has had its effect on the study of the capital vices. Adolf Katzenellenbogen's groundbreaking, and very concise, treatment of depictions of the sins in the visual arts set the stage for the emphasis on the sense of sight in studying the vices, and it was followed up at the turn of the millennium by the very useful catalogue of the iconography of the seven deadly sins, cardinal and theological virtues and other moral qualities, documented at the Index of Christian Art.[24] One can also observe a continuing series of

G. Fishhof (Tel Aviv, 2006), pp. 339–52; and see the earlier work by M. Vincent-Cassy, 'Péchés de femmes à la fin du Moyen Age', in *La condición de la mujer en la edad media: Actas del coloquio celebrado en la Casa de Velázquez, del 5 al 7 de noviembre de 1984*, ed. Y.-R. Fonquerne and A. Esteban (Madrid, 1986), pp. 501–17.

21 W. Ong, *The Presence of the Word: Some Prolegomena for Cultural and Religious History* (New Haven, 1967), p. 1. For a critique of Ong's work and of orality theory, see M. M. Smith, *Sensing the Past: Seeing, Hearing, Smelling, Tasting, and Touching in History* (Berkeley, 2007), pp. 9–15; and the work by Howes mentioned below in n. 23.

22 C. Casagrande, 'Sistema dei sensi e classificazione dei peccati (secoli XII–XIII)', *Micrologus: natura, scienze e società medievali: Nature, Sciences and Medieval Societies* 10: *I cinque sensi / The Five Senses* (2002), 33–54. For an example of the sins conceived as a human body, each sin allocated to one of the bodily members, see the interesting study by W. C. McDonald, 'Michel Beheim's Image of Sin. Concerning his Song-Poem "Der besluss über dis buch" (202*), *c.* 1470', *Mediävistik* 24 (2011), 151–65.

23 See D. Howes, *Sensual Relations: Engaging the Senses in Culture and Social Theory* (Ann Arbor, 2003), pp. xviii–xx, 14–17; D. Howes, 'Introduction "To Summon All the Senses"', in *The Varieties of Sensory Experience: A Sourcebook in the Anthropology of the Senses*, ed. D. Howes (Toronto, 1991), pp. 3–21 (pp. 12–13).

24 A. Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices in Medieval Art*, Studies of the Warburg Institute 10 (London, 1939); reprint: Medieval Academy Reprints

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art-historical studies on the functions of visual images of the sins in such diverse areas as monumental art,[25] representations of the healing of sinners,[26] manuscript illumination,[27] and the reception of the genre of the bestiary.[28] The importance of programmatic presentations of the sins by individual artists in understanding the history of the vices has led to numerous studies on Giotto's depictions of vice and virtue in the Arena Chapel,[29] and on the so-called 'tabletop' of the sins, attributed to Hieronymus Bosch and his workshop, which represents the vices on a surface that was, in fact, never used as a tabletop.[30] In the present collection of essays, Henry Luttikhuizen takes a fresh look at that surface and the way it encourages a contemplative response focused, literally, on the redemptive image of Jesus in the center of the painting.

If the ocular has predominated in the eye-oriented scholarship of the West, there is still much more waiting to be said about the engagement of the other senses in the study of the sins. Work in this field has already begun to bear fruit: The gustatory sense has formed an integral part of the examination of gluttony, in scholarship demonstrating the place of this sin in a cultural system of distinguishing types of taste in medieval Spain,[31] or in laying bare how social distinctions express themselves under the aegis of gluttony in the refinement

for Teaching 24 (Toronto, 1989); *Virtue and Vice: The Personifications in the Index of Christian Art*, ed. C. Hourihane (Princeton, 2000).

25 B. Boerner, 'Lasterdarstellungen in der mittelalterlichen Monumentalkunst Frankreichs', in *Laster im Mittelalter*, pp. 65–103.

26 M. A. Kupfer, *The Art of Healing: Painting for the Sick and the Sinner in a Medieval Town* (University Park, 2003).

27 C. Fraisse, 'Un traité des vertus et des vices illustré a Moissac dans la première moitie du XIe siècle', *Cahiers de civilisations médiévales* 42 (1999), 221–42. See also S. O'Sullivan, *Early Medieval Glosses on Prudentius' Psychomachia: The Weitz Tradition*, Mittellateinische Studien und Texte 31 (Leiden, 2004); M. Gill, 'Preaching and Image: Sermons and Wall Paintings in Later Medieval England', in *Preacher, Sermon, and Audience in the Later Middle Ages*, ed. C. Muessig, A New History of the Sermon 3 (Leiden, 2002), pp. 155–80.

28 N. Harris and R. Newhauser, 'Visuality and Moral Culture in the Late Middle Ages: The Emblematic *Conflictus* and its Literary Representatives, the *Etymachia*, *Qui vicerit dabo*, and *In campo mundi*', in *Garden of Evil*, pp. 234–76; C. Brown, 'Bestiary Lessons on Pride and Lust', in *The Mark of the Beast: The Medieval Bestiary in Art, Life, and Literature*, ed. D. Hassig, Garland Medieval Casebooks 22 (New York, 1999), pp. 53–70.

29 A. Derbes and M. Sandona, '"Ave charitate plena": Variations on the Theme of Charity in the Arena Chapel', *Speculum* 76,3 (2001), 599–637; B. Cole, 'Virtues and Vices in Giotto's Arena Chapel Frescoes', in his *Studies in the History of Italian Art, 1250–1550* (London, 1996), pp. 337–63; H. M. Thomas, 'Zur Optik der Darlegungen Giottos von Gut und Böse in der Arena Kapelle von Padua', *Wissenschaft und Weisheit* 56,2–3 (1993), 156–87.

30 L. D. Gelfand, 'Social Status and Sin: Reading Bosch's Prado *Seven Deadly Sins and Four Last Things* Painting', in *Seven Deadly Sins*, pp. 229–56.

31 T. de Castro, 'El gusto alimentario en la doctrina moral de la iglesia en la baja edad media según Hernando de Talavera', *Micrologus: natura, scienze e società medievali: Nature, Sciences and Medieval Societies* 10: *I cinque sensi / The Five Senses* (2002), 379–99.

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(or its lack) of the gustatory palate in late medieval France,[32] or in the development of ideas concerning the fat body as these developed in Antiquity and developed into the deadly sin of gluttony.[33] Recent scholarship has also made it clear that the sense of smell comes with a moral calibration according to which the heavenly is fragrant while the devil, and all that belongs to immorality, reeks with a malodorous stench.[34] Touch, too, has emerged as an important part of understanding medieval distinctions of sinners. As Constance Classen, one of the pioneers in the movement of sensory history, has shown, the sinful were differentiated by how they were punished in hell, and physical contact with the passion of Jesus could be generated by contemplatives to produce the sensation of participating in the expiation of sin.[35] These recent studies have opened up fascinating avenues for further work on the way moral thought and sensory perception were intimately associated in the Middle Ages. But the auditory sense has seemed to be lacking here: What, one might ask, was the sound of sin? In fact, two contributions to the present volume, by Anne Walters Robertson and William C. McDonald, take up this hitherto largely neglected question,[36] demonstrating how analyses of the vices were built into songs in ecclesiastical and urban settings, for very different kinds of audiences.

The study of the emotions is another development related to the corporeal focus in the study of culture that has yielded important examinations of the vices, in particular the sin of wrath. As the work of a number of scholars has demonstrated in connection with the concept of anger, the gendering of the constructions of the vices and the potential ambiguity of their moral valences make emotionology and hamartiology related fields that intersect in important ways.[37] Indeed, the origin of the vice heptad with all its categories has

32 M. Vincent-Cassy, 'Between Sin and Pleasure: Drunkenness in France in the Late Middle Ages', trans. E. Pavelka, in *Garden of Evil*, pp. 393–430. See also E. Juncosa i Bonet, '"Vinum et ebrietas auferunt cor": La condena moral por embriaguez según Francesc Eiximenis', in *Pecar*, pp. 263–78.

33 S. E. Hill, *Eating to Excess: The Meaning of Gluttony and the Fat Body in the Ancient World* (Santa Barbara, 2011), esp. ch. 6, pp. 121–43.

34 S. A. Harvey, *Scenting Salvation: Ancient Christianity and the Olfactory Imagination* (Berkeley, 2006).

35 C. Classen, *The Deepest Sense: A Cultural History of Touch* (Champaign, 2012), chapter 2.

36 For a recent contribution to hearing sin in the Middle Ages, see J. D. Ibáñez, 'Música y pecado en el imaginario medieval', in *Pecar*, pp. 409–28.

37 W. C. McDonald, 'Armed Conflict as a Deadly Sin: Michel Beheim's Verses on Wrath (1457–*c*. 1470)', in *War and Peace: New Perspectives in European History and Literature, 700–1800*, ed. N. Margolis and A. Classen (Berlin, 2011), pp. 425–41; R. E. Barton, 'Gendering Anger: *Ira*, *Furor*, and Discourses of Power and Masculinity in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries', in *Garden of Evil*, pp. 371–92; R. E. Barton, '"Zealous Anger" and the Renegotiation of Aristocratic Relationships in Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century France', in *Anger's Past: The Social Uses of an Emotion in the Middle Ages*, ed. B. H. Rosenwein (Ithaca, 1998), pp. 154–70. See also L. K. Little, 'Anger in Monastic Curses', in *Anger's Past*, ed. Rosenwein, pp. 9–35; P. Hyams, 'What did Henry III of England Think in Bed and in French about Kingship and Anger?', in

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been shown to be intimately connected with the development of thinking about emotions in Antiquity.[38] What emerges here is a view of the sins that is less categorical, more fluid – that is to say less dogmatic – than moral theology was long assumed to be. In the psychological astuteness of moral thinkers in the Middle Ages, the border between good and evil is a very permeable one, admitting a degree of ambiguity that demonstrates its sensitivity to moral realities.[39]

Along with these corporeal developments of the sensory and emotional investigations of sin, what one might call the historical cohesiveness of the vices has become the focus of much recent scholarship. Here, two major and interconnected areas are of concern: the scholarly emphasis on subcategories of the sins and related systems of morality as objects of study in their own right, and the consistency and historical reception of the heptad in the late Middle Ages and early modern period. Not only do the categories of the seven deadly sins continue to attract scholarly interest both as separate concepts and as a unit,[40] but the members of the ubiquitous lists of *filiae vitiorum*, the subdivisions of the sins, have also been taken up as concepts requiring further investigation. These daughters or branches or soldiers, etcetera, subordinate to the capital vices became a permanent part of the treatment of the heptad in the West with the work of John Cassian and Gregory the Great; the precise qualities they designate go a good distance towards making concrete the definition an

Anger's Past, ed. Rosenwein, pp. 92–124; M. Flynn, 'Taming Anger's Daughters: New Treatment for Emotional Problems in Renaissance Spain', *Renaissance Quarterly* 51,3 (1998), 864–86. For emotions, and emotion words, connected with the vices, see B. Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY, 2006).

38 R. Sorabji, *Emotion and Peace of Mind: From Stoic Agitation to Christian Temptation* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 357–71. Though it is not focused on the Middle Ages, G. Taylor, *Deadly Vices* (Oxford, 2006), contains a very useful discussion of deadly sins and emotions, pp. 13–16. For a contribution to the literature of emotions and the ambiguity of designators of vice, see K. Kristjánsson, *Justifying Emotions: Pride and Jealousy* (London, 2002).

39 J. Tambling, *Dante in Purgatory: States of Affect*, Disputatio 18 (Turnhout, 2010); S. Vecchio, 'Passions de l'âme et péchés capitaux: les ambiguïtés de la culture médiévale', in *Laster im Mittelalter*, pp. 45–64; R. Newhauser, 'On Ambiguity in Moral Theology: When the Vices Masquerade as Virtues', trans. A. Németh-Newhauser, in Newhauser, *Sin*, essay I; E. Peters, '*Vir Inconstans*: Moral Theology as Palaeopsychology', in *Garden of Evil*, pp. 59–73. For a recent edition of a text on moral psychology, see I. P. Bejczy, '*De origine virtutum et vitiorum*: An Anonymous Treatise of Moral Psychology (*c*. 1200–1230)', *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge* 72 (2005), 104–45. Contemporary psychology continues to draw references from the medieval analysis of the sins: R. W. Daly, 'Before Depression: The Medieval Vice of Acedia', *Psychiatry: Interpersonal and Biological Processes* 70,1 (2007), 30–51; M. A. Yarhouse, 'The Vice of Envy: Insights from the History of Pastoral Care', *Journal of Psychology and Christianity* 19,1 (2000), 25–37.

40 For recent monographs on the categories of the capital vices in the Middle Ages, see P. J. Payer, *Sex and the New Medieval Literature of Confession, 1150–1300*, Studies and Texts 163 (Toronto, 2009); Newhauser, *Greed*; Casagrande and Vecchio, *Vizi*.

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author has in mind for each of the vices.[41] A detailed study of the *filiae vitiorum* and their lines of transmission still remains to be accomplished, but a number of the individual concepts often found in lists of the sub-sins have been the focus of interest in the past decade, reflecting current scholarly concerns especially with sexuality and the marketplace. The sub-sins commonly considered part of *luxuria* have been foregrounded in a number of studies, in particular as part of the investigation of the historical reality of adultery, sodomy and other sexual transgressions, or the suspicions aroused when priests met confidentially with married women for confession.[42] Aspects of *avaritia* (usury, prodigality) and *acedia* (despair) have also come under scrutiny,[43] as well as a shifting concept, namely curiosity, that often formed one of the sub-sins of a number of the vices, from *superbia* and *acedia* to *gula*.[44] In the present volume, Kiril Petkov investigates what was initially another subcategory of pride, namely arrogance, as it was employed by moral theologians as a weapon to delegitimize specific power relationships.

Further scholarship has centered recently on the sins of the tongue, not considered part of a capital vice, but influentially added to his *Summa* on the seven deadly sins by William Peraldus, thus giving the concept of deviant speech, and the need to regulate it in a society in which oral communication loomed large, a status equal to that of the traditional members of the sin heptad.[45] This

41 See C. Straw, 'Gregory, Cassian, and the Cardinal Vices', in *Garden of Evil*, pp. 35–58.

42 For example: B. A. Barr, 'Three's a Crowd: Wives, Husbands, and Priests in the Late Medieval Confessional', in *A Companion to Pastoral Care*, ed. Stansbury, pp. 213–34; W. C. McDonald, 'Michel Beheim's Literary Assault on the "Sin against Nature". A Neglected 15th-Century Text on Sodomy', *Daphnis* 38 (2009), 399–420; A. I. C. Manchado, 'Entre el delito y el pecado: el pecado *contra naturam*', in *Pecar*, pp. 113–43; J. Kitchen, 'Cassian, Nocturnal Emissions, and the Sexuality of Jesus', in *Seven Deadly Sins*, pp. 73–94; J. W. Knust, *Abandoned to Lust: Sexual Slander and Ancient Christianity* (New York, 2006), chapter 3; *Trasgressioni: Seduzione, concubinato, adulterio, bigamia (XIV–XVIII secolo)*, ed. S. S. Menchi and D. Quagliono, Annali dell'Istituto storico italo-germanico in Trento, Quaderni 64: I processi matrimoniali degli archivi ecclesiastici italiani 3 (Bologna, 2005); R. M. Karras, 'The Lechery that Dare not Speak its Name: Sodomy and the Vices in Medieval England', in *Garden of Evil*, pp. 193–205.

43 Usury and Prodigality: D. Hawkes, *The Culture of Usury in Renaissance England* (New York, 2010), with material on the theological background; G. Bardazzi, 'Avari e prodighi, iracondi e accidiosi', *Studi danteschi* 65 (2000), 1–39. Despair: K. L. Allen, '*Sicut scintilla ignis in medio maris*: Theological Despair in the Works of Isidore of Seville, Hrotsvit of Gandersheim and Dante Alighieri' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 2009); M. Barasch, 'Despair in the Medieval Imagination', *Social Research* 66,2 (1999), 565–76.

44 See the essays on *curiositas* collected in Newhauser, *Sin*; and E. Peters, *Limits of Thought and Power in Medieval Europe*, Variorum Collected Studies Series, CS721 (Aldershot, 2001).

45 D. Denery, III, 'Biblical Liars and Thirteenth-Century Theologians', in *Seven Deadly Sins*, pp. 111–28; S. Bardsley, 'Sin, Speech, and Scolding in Late Medieval England', in *Fama: The Politics of Talk and Reputation in Medieval Europe*, ed. T. Fenster and D. L. Smail (Ithaca, 2003), pp. 145–64; C. Leveleux, *La parole interdite: Le blasphème dans*

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focus on an addition to the commonly transmitted heptad of vices brings to the fore the issue of the historical continuity of a system that remained remarkably stable over more than a millennium, yet also allowed for change in the definition of its terms and the order in which they were listed. The relationship of the capital vices to other systems of morality, in the work of both pastoral and academic theologians of the later Middle Ages, makes it clear that neither the heptad nor the octad of sins maintained its hegemony as the unrivaled delineation of evil after the mid-thirteenth century. And eventually this search for other ways to classify ethics also included a focus on virtue as the basis for a systematic understanding of morality. The influence of Aristotelian ethics can be observed here, in which a vice of excess and a vice of deficiency surround a virtue that marks the Golden Mean between them, yielding systems organized around the concept of virtue rather than sin and in which the number of vices reached far beyond merely seven or eight.[46] Further, as Carla Casagrande and Silvana Vecchio have demonstrated, within hamartiology the tendency to enumerate sins according to three modes of activity (by thought, word or deed), or as delineated in three concupiscences (the concupiscence of the flesh, the concupiscence of the eyes and the pride of life – see I John 2. 16), or as proclaimed in the Decalogue reveals a recognition of the inadequacy of the system of capital vices. These systems were at times articulated in terms of a critique of the capital vices, yet as Casagrande and Vecchio show they could also develop and become linked to the capital vices without being presented as a substitution for them.[47] The function of the Decalogue has been seen as particularly important, especially for its reflection on what has been claimed to be the end of the capital vices.[48] Two contributions to the present collection, by Kathleen Crowther and Richard G. Newhauser, re-examine this claim in relation to early modern Germany and England respectively, arguing that rather than speaking of the disappearance of the capital vices, the evidence supports a more differentiated conclusion.[49] Though the seven deadly sins could no longer claim the right to be the exclusive and authoritative classification of immorality, they served other functions in the early modern period, prepared for by uses of the heptad in the Middle Ages, that ensured their longevity into the present as a type of shorthand for designating sinfulness per se.

la France médiévale (XIIIe–XVIe siècles): Du péché au crime (Paris, 2001); E. D. Craun, *Lies, Slander and Obscenity in Medieval English Literature: Pastoral Rhetoric and the Deviant Speaker*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature 31 (Cambridge, 1997; reprint, 2005). The interest in the sins of the tongue was the focus of C. Casagrande and S. Vecchio's book, *I peccati della lingua: disciplina ed etica della parola nella cultura medievale* (Rome, 1987).

46 Wenzel, 'Problems', pp. 5–7.

47 Casagrande and Vecchio, *Vizi*, pp. 207–17.

48 See Casagrande and Vecchio, *Vizi*, pp. 214–20, responding especially to Bossy, 'Arithmetic'.

49 For the use of the sins in early modern Spain, see H. Kallendorf, 'Dressed to the Sevens, or Sin in Style: Fashion Statements by the Deadly Vices in Spanish Baroque *Autos Sacramentales*', in *Seven Deadly Sins*, pp. 145–82.

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The essays gathered here have been divided into two sections, distinguished by the major contexts in which the capital vices were deployed (though there is, of course, cross-over in the kinds of material treated by the individual essays and the functions fulfilled by any one text). The first section explores ways in which the sins were used discursively, in religious, political and pastoral environments; the second examines how they were treated creatively, in the production of works of visual, auditory and literary art.

In the initial essay of the volume, James B. Williams demonstrates how the use of the capital vices informed monastic practice in the Carolingian period, not just in terms of the ideology of the spiritual perfection of individual monks, but as a way of framing needed reforms throughout the institution such as those carried out by Benedict of Aniane. In particular, working culture in the reformed monasteries was guided by the need to counter the perception of monks' slothfulness. This observation reflects, and carries further, Siegfried Wenzel's characterization of *acedia* in the Carolingian period as no longer denoting just spiritual dryness, but now also referring to physical indolence and, even more important, a failure to fulfill monastic obligations. While *acedia* retained its special association with the monastic life at this time, Williams demonstrates how reformers like Benedict of Aniane used legislative and administrative means to transform the conception of labor in the cloister. In a wider historical context, but sharply focused on the genre of the treatise on vices and virtues, the conceptual history of *arrogantia* is the object of Kiril Petkov's study. While 'pride' has a number of valorized uses today, 'arrogance', initially a subdivision of pride, has retained its pejorative meaning. The conceptualization of arrogance became, in fact, the point at which the norms of the social collective can be measured as having tamed individual attempts at revolt. Ranging across a wide selection of treatises on sin, Petkov details, in a way not attempted before him, how *arrogantia* was deployed as an instrument to delegitimize particular power relations in Merovingian politics, Carolingian conceptualizations of the state, twelfth-century conflicts between ecstatic and rational theologies and the empowerment and internalization of collective ideals (communality, thrift, etcetera) in the later Middle Ages. If we now think of arrogance as a defect of mind or a failure of performing certain social acts, this was prepared for by moral analysis of the concept at the end of the medieval period.

Two different contexts in the later Middle Ages that demonstrate the growing divergence of pastoral and academic theology within the Church provide the framework for essays by Cate Gunn and Eileen C. Sweeney. *Vices and Virtues*, a dialogue on sin and other matters in Middle English from the late twelfth century, is the object of Cate Gunn's detailed study, the first of its kind to focus on this text for reasons other than the consideration of the continuity of English prose or paleographical issues. Yet it is a work of spiritual guidance that documents a crucial period of pastoral emphasis in the English Church before the Fourth Lateran Council (1215–16) – indeed, it develops from the pastoral reforms of the Third Lateran Council (1179) – that can profitably be

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related to the interests of two important late twelfth-century pastoral collections, the Trinity and Lambeth homilies. As a compendium of material on sin and spiritual guidance probably intended for a number of different audiences, religious and lay, *Vices and Virtues* combines the capital vices from John Cassian's list with other categories of immorality in a text that was, as Gunn shows, used frequently by a number of readers in the centuries after its composition. Though Thomas Aquinas represents largely Gregory the Great's list of vices in *De malo*, in the *Summa theologiae* he abandons that list in favor of an Aristotelian-oriented system in which the capital vices appear along with many other sins as defects or excesses of the virtues. In doing so, Aquinas moved to diminish the parallelism of earlier treatments of sin (opposing the vices to virtues and other catechetically important systems), the ascetical content of these earlier treatments and the view of the moral life altogether as a constant battle against evil. Leonard Boyle had argued that the *Summa theologiae* was intended as an improvement on confessors' manuals, and thus had a pastoral goal as well as an academic one; Eileen C. Sweeney demonstrates how that task was accomplished as a synthesis of speculative theology with the practical ends of pastoral theology. The vices are subordinated to an Aristotelian system of virtue, but Aristotelian virtue is subordinated to the Christian ends of the beatitudes.

The flexibility and ubiquity of pastoral discourse on the vices in very different contexts emerge in the essays by Holly Johnson and Nancy McLoughlin. In the late Middle Ages, sermons on Good Friday employed the sins generally in juxtaposition to one or another of Jesus's torments during the Passion, but one macaronic sermon preached on Good Friday in England between 1430 and 1436 uses the sins to structure the entire text. The sermon relates the vices not only to Jesus's torments, but also to seven diseases. In overcoming the vices by enduring specific torments during the Passion, Jesus also cured the diseases related to the sins. Holly Johnson, who studies and edits the text of the sermon here for the first time, demonstrates the careful way in which the unknown preacher has heightened the affective reach of the sermon by employing a series of rhetorical techniques to both enact (and embody) the sins and dramatize the redemption of sinners in Jesus's Passion. Jean Gerson's sermons to the French court in the late fourteenth century express both theological and political concerns, for which the capital vice tradition is deployed to support Gerson's claims to spiritual and political authority as representative of the University of Paris and to delegitimize the opponents of the university among the French nobility who are characterized as acting under the sway of avarice. The sermons sharpen Gerson's goal of encouraging moral improvement in general, as developed in his earlier pastoral work, to focus now on Charles VI and his court. As McLoughlin shows, Gerson's focus on the authority of his role and that of the university allows him to weld the political and the theological in the discourse on the capital vices, making theological questions of the anatomy of the soul part of the conversation about the intellectual authority of the university.

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There are innumerable texts documenting the scholastic and pastoral uses of the capital vices in the Middle Ages, but as McLoughlin's contribution demonstrates, the functions of the heptad are not limited to issues of theology. Indeed, as Richard G. Newhauser suggests, the relative disengagement of the vices from the catechetical and sacramental roles they had fulfilled in the Middle Ages was a precondition for the expansion of other functions they took on, no longer with hegemonic claims, in the early modern period. Newhauser examines three of these areas of usage from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century in England in a case study of the reception of the heptad: religious polemics, in which, as had been the case in Jean Gerson's work, one's opponents – who now include other Protestants – are found to be characteristic of the seven deadly sins; personifications of the sins in dramatic productions – including a play probably produced by Shakespeare's company; and the critique of the royal court – in particular in Spenser's *Faerie Queene*. In all three areas, the early modern period serves as a bridge between functions of the heptad in the late Middle Ages and some employment of the sins still in use today.

The sins played – and continue to play – an important role in the musical, literary and visual arts. As Anne Walters Robertson shows, music of the vices is relatively rare in the early Middle Ages when sacred music adhered closely to biblical material and drew on sources that predate the use of the sin heptad. Yet the music of sin flourished in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and Robertson examines a series of conductus and motets composed by Philip the Chancellor, Guillaume de Machaut, and added as interpolations to the *Roman de Fauvel*. Here, the vices serve in explicit condemnations of clerical excesses, critiques of courtly and ecclesiastical authority and admonitions about sin for the individual on the journey through life. By the fifteenth century, themes involved more with affective piety claimed the attention of composers and their patrons, and music formulated around the Gregorian list and its variations began to disappear. Where the defeat of sin is evoked in this later music, this happens most often symbolically through the technique of the music, not by explicit mention of the vices.

The poetry of sin in the early and late fourteenth century is the province of two essays, by Peter S. Hawkins and Carol Jamison. In Hawkins's contribution, the full extent of Dante's participation in the same motivation that accounts for the serious use of the seven deadly sins today stands out clearly: the appeal to a type of shorthand evocation of the totality of evil that promises to make the technicalities of moral analysis accessible to the general reader. Though Dante drew on theological sources like William Peraldus (for the correspondences of the vices and the contrary virtues) and perhaps Conrad of Saxony (for the view of the Virgin Mary as the representation of virtue's victory over vice), the aesthetic achievement of his *Purgatorio*, in particular, derives in part from its allegorizing of vices being cured, not punished endlessly, of the virtue of love correcting the self-involvement of vice. That readers should feel the power of spiritual transformation in the *Commedia* is part of Dante's didactic aim; that readers can still feel this power is, as Hawkins demonstrates, due to

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the enchantment of Dante's vision. John Gower's treatment of 'The Tale of Constance' is likewise informed by hamartiology, as Carol Jamison demonstrates, for he infuses a popular narrative with the rhetoric of pastoral theology in order to make of it an *exemplum* of charity's defeat of envy. Comparing Gower's fashioning of the tale to its treatment by Geoffrey Chaucer and Nicholas Trivet, presumably the source of both English authors, Jamison shows how Gower contextualizes the details of the narrative not only to make them fit in the penitential framework of the *Confessio Amantis*, but also to comment on other characteristics of the sin of envy, the subject of Book Two of that text. Gower contrasts scenes of envious behavior with those in which Constance embodies the twofold command of *caritas* (love of God and love of one's fellow human being) by bringing about conversions and forming (or renewing) familial bonds – an effective strategy to demonstrate the cure for all those aspects of envy analyzed in penitential handbooks.

Painting the sins is the subject of Henry Luttikhuizen's contribution, focused on the *Tabletop of the Seven Deadly Sins* attributed to Hieronymus Bosch and his workshop. As Luttikhuizen notes, the painting thematizes vision itself, from the sequence of sinners who cannot see the presence of Jesus to the all-seeing eye of God in the middle of the painting to the gaze of the viewer who comes to discern acts of sin and learns to overcome the vices. In contrast to the panopticon that is central to Michel Foucault's work, however, the eye in the center of the *Tabletop* does not result in subjugation and the disappearance of the autonomy of the individual. God's eye in Bosch's painting elicits not separation, but identification, *imitatio Dei*. Ultimately, the vision called for from the Tabletop is introspection, the inward sight that can identify the tendency to sin in the viewer's heart and show the way to the meaning of a grace that removes sin.

The literature of the sins in late medieval and early modern Germany is the subject of the final essays of the collection. As William C. McDonald demonstrates, Michel Beheim (d. *c*. 1474), a tireless composer, poet, proponent of lay spirituality and self-promoter, wrote the vernacular *Buchlin von den siben tat sunden* (*Little Book on the Seven Deadly Sins*) for the political elite of his day, who were among his patrons. McDonald details how Beheim adapted a fourteenth-century treatise on the heptad of vices in German, the *Erchantnuzz der sund* (*Knowledge of Sin*), by the Viennese theologian Heinrich von Langenstein, to make of it a religious song-cycle that appealed to the laity. Pride and lust emerge as the dominant vices for Beheim, of heightened importance for their connection with both aristocratic presumptuousness and, especially, female sexuality. Yet, as a text of vernacular theology, Beheim's *Little Book* ultimately promotes a sense of optimism about the laity's outlook in achieving victory over these vices, as it also endorses the expertise of the author himself in analyzing and offering advice on the defeat of the sins. In the middle of the sixteenth century another prolific German author, the Lutheran Hans Sachs, wrote *Die ungeleichen Kinder Eve* (*The Unequal Children of Eve*), a play in which God visits Adam and Eve to test the catechetical knowledge of their six good sons (Abel and his brothers) and six wicked sons (Cain and the rest). Kathleen

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Crowther demonstrates how the play typifies Lutheran homiletic practice in weaving new elements (an emphasis on the Decalogue, a Lutheran catechism) together with older ones – in this case, teachings on the seven deadly sins – to produce a distinctively innovative vernacular theology. As in Newhauser's contribution on works in England earlier in the volume, Crowther's analysis points not to the disappearance of the vices in early modern German culture, but to modes of continuity. The vices are not used by Sachs as a vehicle to examine the individual conscience, but as a means to render a social critique that legitimates the existing social hierarchy.

From early medieval monastic culture to sixteenth-century Lutheranism; from the sermon, the academic *summa* and the treatise on vices and virtues to the genres of the conductus and vernacular song-cycles in German; from Dante's critique of his contemporaries to intra-Protestant rivalries in early modern England – the capital vices informed a wide array of ethical thinking in the premodern West. The vitality of the sins can only be indicated, not treated exhaustively, in this volume, and yet we hope we have not only pointed to new ways of appreciating the significance of the roles played by the vices, but even more have opened the doors to further inquiry. As this volume demonstrates, the field of hamartiology is wide and rich.

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I

THE SINS IN RELIGIOUS, INTELLECTUAL AND PASTORAL CONTEXTS

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CHAPTER ONE

Working for Reform: *Acedia*, Benedict of Aniane and the Transformation of Working Culture in Carolingian Monasticism

James B. Williams, University of Indianapolis

An increase in wealth and aristocratic oblates in monasteries of the Carolingian period led to a number of conflicts over the nature of monasticism and the obligations of monks. Integral to this debate was the perception that monks suffered from too much leisure time or the vice known as *acedia*. As a result, reformers, including most prominently Benedict of Aniane, sought to address the problem through administrative and legislative measures concerned with monastic work and labor. Although these reformers met stiff resistance from some brothers, evidence suggests that the culture of work in Carolingian monasteries changed. This essay argues that an examination of Carolingian monastic reforms in the context of the vices provides a new framework for understanding a problematic period in monastic history.

In the late eighth century, many came to the brook called Aniane in southern France, seeking to join in a new monastic life filled with hard work, physically, spiritually and mentally. The Goth named Witiza, who had adopted the name of Benedict, served as their mentor and guide. In the end, though, most lacked the work ethic and temperament for discipline that Benedict expected of them. They were 'weak in spirit'. Why? According to his biographer, Ardo, Benedict's measures to curtail gluttony, such as measuring portions of wine and bread before distribution to the brothers at mealtimes, alienated these novices. Eventually, those lacking conviction abandoned Aniane and embraced their secular comforts once again. In the disdainful words of Ardo, they returned, as in the biblical proverb, 'ut sues ad coenum canisque ad vomitum', as pigs to their filth and a dog to its vomit. The demands placed on Benedict's monastic aspirants represented a new approach to monasticism, providing them with 'an unknown path to salvation' ('ignotamque viam salutis'), but the sacrifice for such a reward was clearly high.[1] This friction between the monastic hopefuls and Benedict of

1 Ardo, *The Life of Benedict of Aniane* III.2, in *Benedict of Aniane: The Emperor's*

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Aniane represents one of many such moments of conflict in the eighth and ninth centuries as reformers sought to instill a new culture of work in monasteries.

Historians have examined many aspects of the attitude to and application of working culture in the medieval monastery, but the Carolingian period has received less attention than others.[2] Generally, early monks, especially in the East, placed a high value on work. Benedict of Nursia, while translating some of the Eastern values of work into Western monastic culture, struggled to bring work into balance with the contemplative life. Ultimately, his rule moderated the ascetic to accommodate the cenobitic life.[3] Monks of the seventh and eighth centuries witnessed a greater emphasis on work out of necessity, as expansion into the European countryside required more self-sufficiency.[4] With the growth of monasticism in the eighth and ninth centuries, work in the monasteries emerged as a central issue. Monastic reformers under the leadership

Monk, trans. A. Cabaniss, Cistercian Studies Series 220 (Ilfracombe, 1979; reprint Kalamazoo, 2008), pp. 59–109 (p. 70); Ardo, *Vita Benedicti abbatis Anianensis et Indensis*, ed. G. Waitz, MGH Scriptores 15.1 (Hanover, 1887), p. 203.

2 Janet Nelson has touched briefly on the prospect of a major revaluation of work in the Carolingian period, primarily as an outgrowth of the concept of the Three Orders (those who fight, pray and labor). For Nelson, this ecclesiastical revaluation of labor focuses on the juxtaposition between monks who pray versus the peasants whose labor provides fruit for them. This paper will focus on a different conflict, the one concerning the importance of labor within the cloister, not outside it. See J. Nelson, 'The Church and a Revaluation of Work in the Ninth Century?', in *The Use and Abuse of Time in Christian History: Papers Read at the 1999 Summer Meeting and the 2000 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, ed. R. N. Swanson (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 35–43. In a similar tack, Werner Rösener has explored the development of the great economy around monasteries, from the neighboring agricultural fields to the craftsmen. Rösener adeptly ties in this exterior work with the monastic work inherent to the Rule of St Benedict. My paper, however, looks to a new impetus for monastic labor, namely *acedia*. See W. Rösener, 'Benediktinische Klosterökonomie: Agrarwirtschaft und gewerbliche Wirtschaftsformen', in *Macht des Wortes: Benediktinisches Mönchtum im spiegel Europas*, 2 vols., ed. G. Sitar and M. Kroker (Regensburg, 2009), I, 209–17.

3 S. MacCormack, 'The Virtue of Work: An Augustinian Transformation', *Antiquité tardive* 9 (2001), 219–37; A. T. Geoghegan, 'The Attitude towards Labor in Early Christianity and Ancient Culture' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Catholic University of America, 1945), pp. 162–228; H. Dedler, 'Vom Sinn der Arbeit nach der Regel des Hl. Benedikt', in *Benedictus, der Vater des Abendlandes, 547–1947*, ed. H. S. Brechter (München, 1947), pp. 103–18; M. Ducey, 'The Benedictines and Manual Labor', *The American Benedictine Review* 1 (1950), 467–89; B. van den Hoven, *Work in Ancient and Medieval Thought: Ancient Philosophers, Medieval Monks and Theologians and the Concept of Work, Occupations and Technology*, Dutch Monographs on Ancient History and Archaeology 14 (Amsterdam, 1996), pp. 113–58.

4 F. Prinz, 'La presenza del monachesimo della vita economica e sociale', in *Dall'eremo al cenobio: La civiltà monastica in Italia dalle origini all'età di Dante*, ed. G. C. Alessio (Milan, 1987), pp. 241–76; P. Boissonnade, *Life and Work in Medieval Europe: The Evolution of Medieval Economy from the Fifth to the Fifteenth Centuries*, trans. E. Power (New York, 1964), pp. 62–77; F. Prinz, 'Arbeitsethik als Wirkungsgeschichte des Christentums', *Cistercienser Chronik* 105 (1988), 317–23.

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of Benedict of Aniane sought new solutions to redress the vices, particularly *acedia*, that had emerged in these increasingly affluent monasteries.[5]

Before exploring further the culture of work in Carolingian monasteries, it is important to understand as precisely as possible the meaning of *acedia* or *accidia*. As Richard Newhauser has pointed out, the definitions of the capital vices often varied in meaning, not only in different time periods, but among different authors in the same time period.[6] With this caveat in mind, historians have endeavored to find trends in the meaning of vices, such as *acedia*. In Late Antiquity, *acedia* connoted a feeling of melancholy or spiritual dryness, which one recent author has compared to modern-day feelings of burn-out. This vice was often associated with monks and monastic houses.[7] By the Carolingian period, the meaning of *acedia* shifted from spiritual dryness to the more modern usage of the word, sloth. Siegfried Wenzel traced this transformation of meaning from penitentials of the seventh and eighth centuries to ecclesiastical authors of the eighth and ninth centuries.[8] Wenzel argued that by the Carolingian period *acedia* became synonymous with *otiositas* (idleness). I have looked to both of these terms to support my arguments below. While this paper rests on Wenzel's characterization of *acedia* in the Carolingian period, I seek to build on his study in two respects. First, I note that despite the shift in meaning from spiritual dryness to sloth, *acedia* continued to be associated with monasticism. And, second, I argue that the connection between *acedia* and monasticism spurred reformers such as Benedict of Aniane to transform the culture of work in the cloister both through imperial legislation and through the administration of individual monasteries. In the eyes of Carolingian

5 The role of Benedict of Aniane in this culture of work is a matter of contention. Delaruelle sees in Benedict of Aniane a decrease in the value of work, a consequence of the increase in liturgy and ritual in Carolingian monasticism. See E. Delaruelle, 'Le travail dans les règles monastique occidentales du quatrième au neuvième siècle', *Journal de psychologie normale et pathologique* 41 (1948), 51–62 (pp. 61–2). Conversely, Josef Semmler sees Benedict of Aniane's work as an extension of monasticism into the countryside similar to that of the seventh and eighth centuries. Benedict's monastery at Aniane spread monasticism to a remote area, necessitating a work ethic built on self-sufficiency. See J. Semmler, 'Karl der Große und das Fränkische Mönchtum', in *Mönchtum und Gesellschaft im Frühmittlealter*, ed. F. Prinz, Wege der Forschung 312 (Darmstadt, 1976), pp. 245–9.

6 R. Newhauser, 'Introduction', in *Garden of Evil*, p. ix.

7 R. E. Jehl, '*Acedia* and Burn-out Syndrome: From an Occupational Vice of the Early Monks to a Psychological Concept in Secularized Professional Life', trans. A. Németh-Newhauser, in *Garden of Evil*, pp. 455–76; D. Caner, *Wandering, Begging Monks: Spiritual Authority and the Promotion of Monasticism in Late Antiquity*, The Transformation of the Classical Heritage 33 (Berkeley, 2002), pp. 38–41.

8 Wenzel, *Sloth*, pp. 23–46; Wenzel, 'Acedia 700–1200', *Traditio* 22 (1966), 73–82. By arguing that *acedia* continued to be associated with monasticism in the ninth century, I do not intend to imply an exclusive association. Carolingian authors, in fact, directed their comments on *acedia* to both ecclesiastical and lay audiences. As will be seen below, some comments intended for a lay audience still maintained a connection with monasticism.

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reformers, sloth was not a spiritual deficit, as codified in the penitentials of the seventh and eighth centuries, but a failure to fulfill one's obligations as a monk.

Furthermore, an examination of monastic working culture and the vices provides a means with which to understand monasticism in this period from a perspective not previously explored. Historians, as Richard Sullivan has noted, have struggled to find an appropriate framework for understanding Carolingian monasticism.[9] The most prominent narrative comes from Joseph Semmler's depiction of the 'una regula, una consuetudo', whereby Benedict of Aniane brought uniformity of the Benedictine Rule and Roman custom to Carolingian Europe under the prodding hand of Emperor Louis the Pious. For his mission to reform the mixed rules and practices current in monasteries in Europe with Benedict of Nursia's rule, contemporaries and later historians gave him the sobriquet the Second Benedict.[10]

The greatest drawback to this framework is that it is more descriptive than analytical, and as Richard Sullivan has pointed out, it is inherently deficient since the outcomes of Benedict's reforms yielded only limited success. Sullivan offered an alternative and more analytical framework. He argued that monasticism in the ninth century joined the secular and ecclesiastical kingdoms together, where the cloister engaged with the outside world to create a new monastic identity.[11] Sullivan's evidence emerged from the Plan of St Gall, a rich design of the ideal monastery of the ninth century, but, as will be discussed below, the plan also fits into the model of a conflict over working culture in the monasteries. One of the most recent suggestions for a new framework came from Mayke de Jong, who argued that Carolingian monks found prayer to be their *raison d'être*. In devoting themselves to constant prayer, monks served as mediators between God and the Franks, a role which helped to maintain harmony in their kingdom to the benefit of society.[12] However, while prayer remained a vital part of monastic life in the eighth and ninth centuries, even increasing prayer-time threefold, monks occupied their daily lives with a multitude of activities devoted to God.[13] These conceptual frameworks

9 R. E. Sullivan, 'What was Carolingian Monasticism? The Plan of St Gall and the History of Monasticism', in *After Rome's Fall: Narrators and Sources of Early Medieval History. Essays Presented to Walter Goffart*, ed. A. C. Murray (Toronto, 1998), pp. 252–61.

10 J. Semmler, 'Benedictus II: Una regula - una consuetudo', in *Benedictine Culture 750–1050*, ed. W. Lourdaux and D. Verhelst, Mediaevalia Lovaniensia, ser. 1, Studia 11 (Leuven, 1983), pp. 1–49. Many authors of general histories on monasticism share Semmler's characterization. See P. King, *Western Monasticism: A History of the Monastic Movement in the Latin Church*, Cistercian Studies Series 185 (Kalamazoo, 1999), pp. 103–30; C. H. Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism: Forms of Religious Life in Western Europe in the Middle Ages*, 2nd edn (London, 1989), pp. 68–74; D. Knowles, *Christian Monasticism* (New York, 1969), pp. 44–5.

11 Sullivan, 'What was Carolingian Monasticism?', pp. 251–62.

12 M. de Jong, 'Carolingian Monasticism: The Power of Prayer', in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, 7 vols., ed. R. McKitterick (Cambridge, 1995–2005), II, 647–53.

13 For instance, monks invested a significant amount of their resources in the production of manuscripts, of which nearly 7,000 are still extant. See B. Bischoff, *Latin Palaeography:*

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have advanced our knowledge of Carolingian monasticism, but I believe that a framework based on working culture in the monasteries provides a complementary approach. As Carolingian monasticism faced significant challenges of increased wealth, reformers projected their values for monastic practice and monastic labor in confrontations over the vices, and specifically that of *acedia*.

Benedict's encounter with the culture of work

At the center of this framework, as with any discussion of Carolingian monasticism, stands Witiza-Benedict of Aniane.[14] He pushed for the reform of monastic culture throughout his monastic life, perhaps because he came as an outsider, both in his ethnicity and in his age. Unlike the majority of monks during this period, he did not come to monasticism as an oblate, a child donated by his or her parents to do God's work in the monastery.[15] Witiza served at the court of King Pepin as a child, the son of a Visigothic noble. As he matured into adulthood, he took up arms with Charlemagne and the Franks during Charles's ambitious campaigns to subjugate various peoples of continental Europe, but during the invasion of Lombardy, Witiza faced a life-altering tragedy. As he and his brother were fording a swiftly flowing river, the strong current swept his brother from his horse and swallowed him. Witiza plunged into the river to save his brother. It is not clear from Benedict's biographer, Ardo, whether the brother died or was rescued. Regardless, the traumatic event sparked a conversion experience. Witiza now burned with a desire to reject the material world and enter the cloister. He did so rather surreptitiously, departing from his homeland in Aquitaine in 774 under the pretence of a trip to King Charles. When his company reached the monastery of Saint-Seine in Dijon, he sent them home while he tossed aside his weapons and entered the monastery. For several years he endured penance and lamentations for his traumatic experience, only to emerge with the new name of Benedict, likely on 21 March 777, the main feast of Benedict of Nursia. Thereafter, his reputation as an

Antiquity and the Middle Ages, trans. D. Ó Cróinín and D. Ganz (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 202–11. Monks also played a leading role in education, both of clergy and of laymen. See J. J. Contreni, 'The Carolingian Renaissance: Education and Literary Culture', in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, ed. McKitterick, II, 709–57. David Ganz argues that the development of Caroline minuscule and the adornment of manuscripts stemmed from the desire of these monks to write in a way that was appropriate to the spiritual task of copying so many liturgical works. See D. Ganz, 'The Preconditions for Caroline Minuscule', *Viator* 18 (1987), 23–44 (pp. 31–2).

14 For an excellent review of the historiography on Benedict of Aniane and his significance in monastic reform, see W. Kettemann, 'Subsidia Anianensia: Überlieferungs- und textgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zur Geschichte Witiza-Benedikts, seines Klosters Aniane und zur sogenannten "Anianischen Reform"' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Gerhard-Mercator-Universität, 2000), pp. 1–32.

15 M. de Jong, *In Samuel's Image: Child Oblation in the Early Medieval West*, Brill's Studies in Intellectual History 12 (Leiden, 1996), pp. 1–15.

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exceptional monk grew until his death in 821 at the monastery of Inde. Shortly after, his monastic brethren commissioned Ardo, a teacher and monk at Benedict's monastery at Aniane, to compose his *vita*.[16]

In the *Vita Benedicti Anianensis*, Ardo established a dichotomy between Witiza-Benedict's life and that of the monks that he encountered, first at Saint-Seine and then at Aniane. Benedict became the quintessential monk, with Ardo crafting an image of Benedict that embraced both the Eastern and the Western traditions of monasticism. On the one hand, he practiced extreme asceticism and self-mortification. He deprived himself of sleep through continuous prayer vigils, denied himself nourishment so that he ate only minimal amounts of bread and water, and shunned hygiene so that his skin and rag-tag clothing bred lice that fed on his skin day and night. On the other hand, he embraced the traditions of the West, participating fully in community activities and taking positions of authority at Saint-Seine. He corrected the bad habits of other monks, devoted himself to scholarly activities and mastered the Benedictine and other monastic rules.[17]

Most importantly, Benedict constantly worked. While the monks at Saint-Seine slept, he stayed up late into the night cleaning and polishing their shoes, just as the ever-vigilant shepherd watched over his flock.[18] Benedict even multitasked to achieve all the demands on his time. While writing one of his many books, he simultaneously performed menial work in the kitchen. As he plowed fields, he also recited the Psalms aloud to others.[19] Benedict, as presented by Ardo, transformed himself not only into the prototypical monastic ideal but also into a contemporary role-model for others, zealously working at daily labor, at writing, at prayer and at taming the body's desires for food and sleep.

In contrast, Benedict's brothers at Saint-Seine lacked proper discipline and work ethic and suffered from their susceptibility to vices. Ardo criticized the

16 Ardo, *The Life of Benedict of Aniane* I.1-II.2, trans. Cabaniss, pp. 65–7; Ardo, *Vita Benedicti*, pp. 201–2. Felice Lifshitz explores this intense connection between Witiza and Benedict of Nursia in the aftermath of the campaign in Lombardy and argues that Witiza re-dedicated himself as Benedict in tribute to the great monastic saint for providing a path to moderation out of his extreme asceticism. I will argue below that Witiza-Benedict's fervor for arduous work by no means abated after 777. See F. Lifshitz, *The Name of the Saint: The Martyrology of Jerome and Access to the Sacred in Francia, 627–827*, Publications in Medieval Studies (Notre Dame, 2006), pp. 67–8.

17 Ardo, *The Life of Benedict of Aniane* I.1-II.6, trans. Cabaniss, pp. 65–9; Ardo, *Vita Benedicti,* pp. 200–2. For the contrast between the asceticism of the East and the moderation of the West, as well as the different forms of community life, see, for instance, Knowles, *Christian Monasticism*, pp. 1–35; Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism*, pp. 1–35.

18 Ardo, *The Life of Benedict of Aniane* II.4, trans. Cabaniss, p. 67; Ardo, *Vita Benedicti,* p. 201. This passage is also reminiscent of the theme of the ever-watchful king who never slept so that he could protect his people. Carolingian writers used this theme in their description of the Pippinids, and Ardo may have been drawing from this tradition. See P. E. Dutton, *The Politics of Dreaming in the Carolingian Empire* (Lincoln, 1994), pp. 5–22.

19 Ardo, *The Life of Benedict of Aniane* V.1 and XXI.1, trans. Cabaniss, pp. 72, 83–4; Ardo, *Vita Benedicti*, pp. 203–4, 208–9.

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monks at Saint-Seine for maintaining a certain opulence in their attire, noting that while everyone else there dressed up in fine clothing on days of popular feasts, Benedict wore his usual threadbare garments. The increased wealth in revenue in monasteries had also led to an overabundance of food; hence, the sin of *gula* (gluttony) became one of Benedict's other concerns. At Saint-Seine, the abbot appointed Benedict cellarer, an office that granted him control over the dispensation of foodstuffs. Benedict kept a tight accounting of the rations distributed to the brothers, who griped at their sudden decrease in food and wine. While Ardo did not accuse these monks of being corpulent, Benedict's ascetic practices frightened those around him. The abbot at Saint-Seine intervened at one point to request that Benedict curb his asceticism, 'ab abbate parcius erga semet exercere rigorem'. Benedict's self-mortification disturbed his brothers and raised health concerns, so the abbot felt compelled to intervene for the good of the monastery. Above all, the brothers at Saint-Seine showed their weakness in discipline and inability to toil in the manner befitting a monk. In other words, they suffered from laziness. Benedict found himself often scolding those who neglected their duties. The contrast in work ethic was striking, especially compared to Benedict and his laborious feats.[20] It is likely that Ardo's references to the sinful monks of Saint-Seine was crafted to juxtapose the exceptional character of Benedict with those around him, but Ardo's depictions of Saint-Seine may also serve as a warning to his contemporaries of the increasing *luxuria* (extravagance) flooding Carolingian monasteries.[21]

And how did the brothers react to Benedict's drive to stamp out bad habits? According to Ardo, they treated him as an outsider. Some picked up the boots Benedict had polished for them and jeeringly tossed them at the Visigoth, mocking his hard work. Others ridiculed him for his lack of hygiene and even spat on him.[22] The community at Saint-Seine viewed Benedict's strict adherence to monastic principles and relentless work ethic as foreign and unwelcome. According to Ardo, because Benedict as cellarer 'did not offer drinks for their pleasure, many looked askance at him'.[23] The monks at Saint-Seine had grown accustomed to the

20 Ardo, *The Life of Benedict of Aniane* II.5, trans. Cabaniss, p. 68; Ardo, *Vita Benedicti*, p. 202. According to Ardo, Benedict was chastised 'ab abbate parcius erga semet exercere rigorem' and chastised others as 'neglegentes'.

21 Opportunities existed for lavish eating in the monastery, particularly in relation to the feast days mentioned by Ardo. Michel Rouche has meticulously charted both the number of feast days celebrated (over 100 in the Carolingian period) and the caloric intake consumed at these occasions (25–33% more food and 50% more wine). See M. Rouche, 'Les repas de fête a l'époque Carolingienne', in *Manger et boire au Moyen Age: Actes du Colloque de Nice (15–17 Octobre 1982)*, ed. D. Menjot, Publications de la Faculté des lettres et sciences humaines de Nices, 1ère ser. 27–8 [bis] (Paris, 1984), pp. 265–96.

22 Ardo, *The Life of Benedict of Aniane* II.4, trans. Cabaniss, pp. 67–8; Ardo, *Vita Benedicti*, pp. 201–2.

23 Ardo, *The Life of Benedict of Aniane* II.6, trans. Cabaniss, p. 68; Ardo, *Vita Benedicti*, p. 202. The translation is my own, not that of Cabaniss, who interprets the Latin as 'Because he did not freely provide them cups, he was not regarded with favor by

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Rule of St Benedict, which in many regards was quite moderate in its expectations of the brothers. Unlike Benedict of Aniane's example, the Rule did not call for brothers to suffer through multi-day prayer vigils, lice-infested clothing, or the conservative measurement of daily alcohol consumption.[24]

Ironically, despite his renown as the Second Benedict for imposing the uniformity of the Benedictine Rule on continental Europe, Benedict of Aniane pushed for a more radical form of monasticism than the Rule required. Benedict developed a fascination for the construction of monastic rules, as evinced by his great *Codex regularum*, a compilation of various monastic rules, and his *Concordia regularum*, an application of these various monastic rules to the Rule of St Benedict of Nursia.[25] According to Ardo, Benedict early in his career looked down on the Benedictine Rule because of its moderation; it was a rule 'tironibus seu infirmis', for beginners or the weak, those who proved themselves more susceptible to the vices.[26] Instead, Benedict turned his devotion to harsher rules, like those of Basil and Pachomius, and pushed his brothers to do the same in his interactions with them. According to Ardo, 'Because of this he [Benedict] was derided, pushed about and spat upon by many'.[27] The monks at Saint-Seine felt alienated by Benedict's expectations.

Such a vehement reaction to reform helps to explain a puzzling part of Ardo's *Vita Benedicti Anianensis*. After the abbot of Saint-Seine died, the brothers 'elected' Benedict to succeed him. Rather than assuming this position, Benedict fled Saint-Seine and returned to his family's property on the brook at Aniane where he eventually founded his own monastic settlement. Why would he refuse such an opportunity? According to Ardo, Benedict, 'understanding that there was no harmony between their manner of living and his', fled the monastery. There was clearly too much of a divide between their expectations.[28] The monks at Saint-Seine had expressed their feelings of

many'. Ardo's passage is 'Et quoniam pro libita voluntate eis pocula non prebebat, aequis obtutibus a conpluribus non intuebatur'.

24 Benedict of Nursia designed the Rule for application to the entire monastic community and intended a 'greater tolerance of human weakness'. See Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism*, p. 23.

25 Benedict of Aniane, *Concordia regularum*, ed. P. Bonnerue, 2 vols., CCCM 168 and 168A (Turnhout, 1999); Benedict of Aniane, *Codex regularum*, *PL* 103, 423–702. Dr Martin Claussen, who has looked at the manuscript of the *Codex regularum*, has informed me that the *PL* text is riddled with errors of omissions, additions and rearrangements. The *PL* text must be used with care.

26 Ardo, *The Life of Benedict of Aniane* II.5, trans. Cabaniss, pp. 68–9; Ardo, *Vita Benedicti*, p. 202.

27 Ibid. The translation is my own. Ardo writes, 'Quam ob rem a compluribus deridebatur, inpellebatur conspuebaturque'.

28 Ardo, *The Life of Benedict of Aniane* III.1, trans. Cabaniss, p. 69; Ardo, *Vita Benedicti*, pp. 202–3. It is hard to believe that the same monks who threw their shoes at Benedict and spat on him now unanimously desired his appointment to the position of abbot. During the Carolingian period, rulers often influenced the election of abbots because the monasteries were so crucial to the exercise of their political power. While Ardo states that Benedict was popularly 'elected', this may very well have

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discontent and alienation at Benedict's pressure to move beyond the moderation of the Rule of St Benedict throughout his tenure there, and judging from his response, Benedict recognized the need to escape the environment where a lax working culture had rooted itself so strongly.

From Benedict's perspective, as portrayed by Ardo, the comfortable life at Saint-Seine contradicted his vision of a monk's obligation to work.[29] The concern over work in the monastery is a common characterization for the central and high Middle Ages, when many outside the cloister leveled complaints against monks for their easy life within the cloister.[30] Yet, these same accusations from outsiders do not appear nearly as frequently against monks in the eighth and ninth centuries. On the contrary, monastic establishments expanded both in size and in number under Carolingian rulers, and if anyone in the ecclesiastical establishment suffered from criticism, it was the bishops.[31] It is then legitimate

come after such royal influence, especially considering his close ties with the royal family. See de Jong, 'Carolingian Monasticism', pp. 623–9; H. Hummer, *Politics and Power in Early Medieval Europe: Alsace and the Frankish Realm, 600–1000*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, 4th series 65 (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 56–104.

29 The paucity of source material available from the seventh century makes it difficult to tell whether Ardo's characterization implies a degradation in spiritual life from the Merovingian period or whether Benedict was simply holding monks to a higher expectation. Evidence points to many of the same features in Merovingian monasticism, such as lay and noble sponsorship as well as the physical size and development of the monasteries themselves. See Hummer, *Politics and Power in Early Medieval Europe*, pp. 26–55; E. James, 'Archaeology and the Merovingian Monastery', in *Columbanus and Merovingian Monasticism*, ed. H. B. Clarke and M. Brennan, BAR International Series 113 (Oxford, 1981), pp. 33–55. Columbanus and the Irish missionary movement are believed to have infused some asceticism into the culture, but exactly how much remains a mystery. See P. Riché, 'Columbanus, his Followers and the Merovingian Church', in *Columbanus and Merovingian Monasticism*, ed. Clarke and Brennan, pp. 59–72. I suspect that many of the underlying factors already existed but the scale of Carolingian sponsorship and the royal prerogative for universal organization brought these factors to the forefront of intellectual consciousness.

30 N. F. Cantor, 'The Crisis of Western Monasticism 1050–1130', *The American Historical Review* 66 (1960), 47–67; H. E. J. Cowdrey, *The Cluniacs and the Gregorian Reform* (Oxford, 1970); J. Leclercq, 'The Monastic Crisis of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries', in *Cluniac Monasticism in the Central Middle Ages*, ed. N. Hunt (Hamden, 1971), pp. 217–37; Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism*, pp. 125–66. To some extent, historians may have exaggerated this crisis. See J. Van Engen, 'The "Crisis of Cenobitism" Reconsidered: Benedictine Monasticism in the Years 1050–1150', *Speculum* 61 (1986), 269–304.

31 The Monk of St Gall recounts many tales of problematic bishops in his life of Charlemagne, such as the bishop who purchased a stuffed rat for an exorbitant fee from a Jewish merchant because he mistakenly thought it was a fashionable item. See Notker the Stammerer, *Charlemagne*, in *Two Lives of Charlemagne*, trans. L. Thorpe (London, 1969), pp. 108–9. Disdain for episcopal wealth and its effect on episcopal behavior also emerged in biblical commenataries, such as Haimo of Auxerre's reference to bishops as rapacious lions. See J. J. Contreni, '"By Lions, Bishops are Meant; by Wolves, Priests": History, Exegesis, and the Carolingian Church in Haimo of Auxerre's Commentary on Ezechiel', *Francia: Forschungen zur*

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to wonder whether Ardo's characterization of Benedict and the monks at Saint-Seine retains a fair degree of accuracy, or whether Ardo artificially constructed a dichotomy between the lazy monks at Saint-Seine and the quintessential monk in Benedict by weaving together tropes drawn from previous *vitae*.

Ardo did use material from previous *vitae*; to some extent, he needed them to legitimate his portrait of Benedict as a present-day saint. In constructing his biography, Ardo respected the source of its commission and its ultimate destination, Abbot Helisachar and the monks at Inde. Spiritually, they sought to pay tribute to the great mentor who founded their monastery, but one cannot help but note that, materially, the increased devotion encouraged by such a *vita* would increase their wealth and fame. The best way to legitimate Benedict's revered status was to draw from the tropes of the past, in essence proving that he was joined to the long line of the saints and martyrs of old. As Delehaye so marvelously noted concerning the poverty of invention among hagiographers, 'you ask for a portrait and you receive a programme'.[32] Hagiographers often mixed oral and written traditions to create a palatable concoction that blended history and legend. For instance, Ardo constructed the wonderful account of a raging fire at Aniane that threatened to burn down a nearby church. Benedict's intercession through prayer shifted the direction of the winds so that the fire spared the church. Ardo probably drew this episode – or at least his interpretation of it – either from his prior reading of *vitae* or from the popular imagination of his informants, for this same type of literary device appears elsewhere.[33]

Ardo's connection between these legends and the vices mentioned at Saint-Seine may also have found inspiration in the literature of the past. The history of the cardinal vices interacts frequently with that of monasticism, especially in the West. Morton Bloomfield attributed the transmission of the concept of the vices to the West to the great monk Cassian.[34] The prevalence of Cassian's works in the monasteries increased the likelihood that the vices would have been in the forefront of the learned mind of Ardo. While the use of literary tropes may have characterized some of the individual stories, Ardo used them to instruct his reader on the need to emulate Benedict's example of hard work. Even so, it is curious that Ardo did not appropriate the language of these vices in his *vita*, eschewing terms such as *acedia* and preferring instead to describe vividly the tribulations faced by Benedict among his peers.

westeuropäischen Geschichte 29 (2002), 29–56. The exception to this generalization is Charlemagne's *De litteris colendis* discussed below.

32 H. Delehaye, *The Legends of the Saints: An Introduction to Hagiography*, trans. V. M. Crawford, Notre Dame Publications 7 (Notre Dame, IN, 1961), p. 26.

33 For a specific example of saints with the ability to shift winds to prevent a fire, see Bede, *Life and Miracles of Saint Cuthbert, Bishop of Lindisfarne*, in *Lives of the Saints*, trans. J. F. Webb (Baltimore, 1965), pp. 75–6, 89–90. Interestingly, Bede draws a direct parallel in this story with the lives of saints Benedict of Nursia and Marcellinus where similar stories are told. For a general discussion of these types of tropes in saints' lives, see Delehaye, *The Legends of the Saints*, pp. 12–59.

34 Bloomfield, *Sins*, pp. 69–104.

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Nevertheless, Ardo's message, that Benedict railed against the slack working environment within the monastery, correlates with Benedict's own writings. In his *Testimoniorum nubecula de incarnatione Domini*, a letter to one of his subordinates, Guarnarius, Benedict commanded Guarnarius to commit the entirety of the letter to memory, 'lest you become lazy with leisure time'.[35] Apparently, reading the letter was insufficient. Benedict expected Guarnarius to stay busy with work by memorizing the whole letter, by no means a small feat. The document numbers nearly thirty pages in a modern word processor with twelve-point font and double line-spacing. Benedict's command to Guarnarius may also have been motivated by the contents of the letter, a refutation of the Felician heresy.[36] Perhaps in Benedict's mind, laziness or the vice of sloth left one susceptible to heretical doctrines.

Understanding the state of work in Carolingian monasteries

Carolingian monasteries operated in an environment ripe for *acedia* as a consequence of two factors: increased wealth and stagnation of the culture of work. Monasteries during the Carolingian period played an integral role in the political and economic structure of society, serving as local institutions designed for property holding. Through a transaction known as a *precaria*, local lords donated vast amounts of their property (the primary source of wealth) to monasteries while retaining usufruct of it for themselves and their family *ad infinitum*. In return for preserving this property, monasteries charged a *census* or rent on their lay lords, bringing wealth from these various landholdings directly into the monastery.[37] In addition, the monasteries also collected a steadier stream of income through the collection of the *nones et deces*, or tithes, which Charlemagne officially compelled with the capitulary of Heristal in 779. Monastic participation in tithing represented a departure from tradition, leading in the late eighth and ninth centuries to the first systematic influx of revenue.[38] Moreover, monasteries collected additional taxes and tolls from various markets, fairs and craftwork

35 Benedict of Aniane, *Testimoniorum nubecula de incarnatione Domini, sancta et individua Trinitate et iteratione baptismatis devitanda pernicie*, *PL* 103, 1381: 'tuae memoriae commendandam ne otio torpeas'.

36 On the Felician heresy, also known as Spanish Adoptionism, see J. Cavadini, *The Last Christology of the West: Adoptionism in Spain and Gaul, 785–820* (Philadelphia, 1993); J. B. Williams, 'The Adoptive Son of God, the Pregnant Virgin, and the Fortification of the True Faith: Heterodoxy, the Cult of the Virgin Mary, and Benedict of Aniane in the Carolingian Age' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Purdue University, 2009), pp. 16–57.

37 Hummer, *Politics and Power in Early Medieval Europe*, pp. 75–104.

38 G. Constable, *Monastic Tithes: From their Origins to the Twelfth Century*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, new series 10 (Cambridge, 1964), pp. 31–83. Hans Hummer raises the possibility that the census may have been tied to the tithe, but there is not yet any scholarly consensus on the matter. See Hummer, *Politics and Power in Early Medieval Europe*, pp. 75–104. Regardless, the net result for Carolingian monasteries remains the same. They increased their wealth in this period.

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sponsored on monastic grounds, not to mention the expenditure of pilgrims visiting monasteries to see relics.[39] The health of the Carolingian economy during the eighth and ninth centuries only compounded the revenue streaming into monasteries from the *census* and the tithe.[40]

The manner in which monks were recruited also contributed to the emergence of *acedia* in the cloister during the eighth and ninth centuries. Mayke de Jong's study of child oblation reveals how significantly the practice of child oblation affected European monasticism and society. Carolingian monasteries depended on child oblation as the primary vehicle for recruitment into monastic life. Such a practice only exacerbated the entrenchment of culture. For those monasteries suffering from *acedia*, like that of Saint-Seine, the lax working culture perpetuated itself. Children raised in an environment where they had never known hard work received neither encouragement nor incentive for change. It required an adult entrant like Benedict of Aniane to disturb the order, but Benedict's case was the exception rather than the norm at a time when the practice of child oblation reached its zenith. Indeed, adult entrants rarely entered the monastery as novices; the majority of adult novices were either penitents or political prisoners with very little clout or influence within the monastery. To complicate the matter further, child oblates often came from wealthier families. Monasteries expected to receive from these families a *viaticum*, a monetary gift usually in the form of land, to help maintain the aristocratic environment in which the children had been raised prior to donning the habit. It seems that servants and serfs did much of the work.[41]

The increase in wealth and perpetuation of aristocratic lifestyles within monasteries reinforced the association between monasticism and the sin of *acedia*. As discussed above, the concept of *acedia* changed from something analogous to a feeling of 'burn-out' to the sin of sloth in the early Middle Ages. Benedict of Aniane knew both the terms *acedia* and *otiositas*, as these terms appear in his *Concordia regularum*, most prominently in Benedict of Nursia's chapter 48, on working with the hands.[42] Benedict of Nursia used the phrase, 'otiositas inimica est animae', 'idleness is the enemy of the soul', and referred to a hypothetical monk who was *accidiosus*.[43] Yet, Benedict of Nursia did not confront this issue alone, as Benedict of Aniane discovered in the Rule of Stephan, a sixth-century Italian abbot. Benedict of Aniane, as evidenced by his *Concordia regularum*, relied on other monastic rules such as that of St

39 Rösener, 'Benediktinische Klosterökonomie', pp. 211–16.

40 For the growth and health of the Carolingian economy, see G. Duby, *The Early Growth of the European Economy: Warriors and Peasants from the Seventh to the Twelfth Century*, trans. H. B. Clarke (Ithaca, 1974), pp. 77–111; M. McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy: Communications and Commerce, A.D. 300–900* (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 1–23, 571–798; R. Hodges, *Dark Age Economics: The Origins of Towns and Trade A.D. 600–1000* (London, 1982), pp. 151–84.

41 de Jong, *In Samuel's Image*, pp. 56–132.

42 Benedict of Aniane, *Concordia regularum*, pp. 469–90.

43 Ibid., pp. 469–70.

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Stephan in constructing his own vision of monastic practice for the Carolingian kingdoms. Stephan claimed that the *otiosus monachus* was the consequence that successful monasteries faced because of the propensity for visitors to donate to such pious institutions. Monks who succumbed to this vice (*vitium*) posed a threat because their laziness stimulated unclean thoughts ('sordidis cogitationibus').[44] The antidote to this vice lay in the labor that all monks were to perform. While Stephan does not specify what this labor should entail, Benedict of Aniane's incorporation of this passage into Benedict of Nursia's section on manual labor provides a distinct connection between work, especially manual work, and the vice of *acedia*.

Alcuin's famous work *On the Virtues and the Vices* also emphasized the strong connection between *acedia* and monasticism. Alcuin noted that the typical person suffering from *acedia* 'only covets and desires, and the leisurely mind runs back and forth through everything. This is what, most of all, throws monks out of their cell in heaven and ejects them from a regular observance of [monastic] life into the steep abysses of the vices.'[45] According to Alcuin, the *acediosus* man exhibited somnolence, tedium of the heart, indolence in good works and a penchant for gossip – much like the monks at Saint-Seine described by Ardo. What is most striking about Alcuin's discussion of the susceptibility of monks to *acedia* is his audience. The recipient of the text was a noble layperson, Count Wido. Therefore, Alcuin's characterization should not be interpreted as a remonstrance for a monastic audience but as an illustrative example that Wido could understand. Thus, the perceived association between *acedia* and monasticism spread beyond the boundaries of the cloister and into society. Luitpold Wallach, in an astute study of *On the Virtues and Vices*, argued that Alcuin followed Cassian in the description of *acedia* above. As Wallach noted, Alcuin incorporated excerpts from Cassian's *Collationes* and *De institutis coenobiorum et de octo principalium vitiorum remediis*, but neither of Cassian's works includes the vibrant image of monks being cast out of their cells in heaven because of *acedia*.[46] Alcuin invented that passage himself, which shows how relevant it was to his own place and time. Indeed, Leidrad, the archbishop of Lyons and friend of both Benedict of Aniane and Alcuin, maintained the association of *acedia* with monasticism in one of his letters to Charlemagne.[47]

The king of the Franks witnessed the effects of the laziness among monks in their incorrect speaking and writing in Latin. Around the time that Leidrad wrote his letter, Alcuin composed his treatise on the vices, and Benedict corrected the monks of Saint-Seine and Aniane, Charlemagne issued a mandate

44 Ibid., pp. 477–8.

45 Alcuin, *De virtutibus et vitiis liber ad Widonem Comitem*, *PL* 101, 635A. 'Sed tantum concupiscit et desiderat, et otiosa mens per omnia discurrit. Haec est quae maxime monachos excutit de cella in saeculum, et de regulari conversatione ejicit eos in abrupta vitiorum.'

46 L. Wallach, *Alcuin and Charlemagne: Studies in History and Literature*, Cornell Studies in Classical Philology 32 (Ithaca, 1959), pp. 244–7.

47 Leidrad of Lyons, *Epistola (II) ad Carolum Imperatorem*, *PL* 99, 881A–B.

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in a circular letter, the *De litteris colendis*, rebuking monks for neglecting their studies.[48] Charlemagne urged them to focus on the proper use of Latin and the development of skillful handwriting so that they might more efficiently unlock the mysteries of sacred literature. Charlemagne stated,

> We would have you be, as befits soldiers of the Church, inwardly devout, outwardly learned, chaste in living a good life, scholars in speaking well, so that, whoever . . . shall seek you out to see you, even as his eyes are edified by your appearance, having been instructed by your wisdom which he shall discern in your reading and singing, may depart in gladness giving thanks to Almighty God.[49]

As Ardo had criticized the monks of Saint-Seine for their fine feast-day garments and ill behavior in comparison to Benedict, so Charlemagne also questioned the value of brothers who looked like monks but failed to act the part.

Attempts to reform the culture of work in Carolingian monasticism

Rather than stay and fight to impose his expectations on an idle culture already so firmly entrenched in the monastery, Benedict of Aniane chose to flee Saint-Seine. Perhaps he felt that alone he would be unable to transform the working culture in the monastery. Hence, he founded at Aniane an entirely new establishment where he could create his own culture and reject those novices who failed to meet his expectations for a rigorous monastic life. According to Ardo, Benedict flourished in his new environment as followers flocked to his monastery seeking to emulate his example. In contrast to Saint-Seine, 'he was free to expound the heavenly road to those who wanted it and to labor with his own hands. . . . Strengthened by his example, his students yearned to be exhausted by even heavier labors.'[50]

Other ecclesiastical leaders recognized the exceptional nature of the monks at Aniane and coveted the new standard they represented. When Bishop

48 On the document of the *De litteris colendis* as an imperial mandate, see T. Martin, 'Bemerkungen zur "Epistola de litteris colendis"', *Archiv für Diplomatik* 31 (1985), 227–72; Wallach, *Alcuin and Charlemagne*, pp. 198–226. On the *De litteris colendis* as part of Carolingian educational reform, see Contreni, 'The Carolingian Renaissance: Education and Literary Culture'; R. McKitterick, *Charlemagne: The Formation of a European Identity* (Cambridge, 2008), pp. 315–20. It is perhaps not just coincidental that our only surviving copy of the *De litteris colendis* from its original issue in the eighth century comes from Baugulf, abbot of Fulda, a monastery that faced turmoil brought on by its culture of work and *acedia* a couple of decades later, as discussed below.

49 Charlemagne, *Epistola de litteris colendis*, ed. A. Boretius, in *Capitularia Regum Francorum* 1, MGH Legum section 2 (Hannover, 1883), p. 79. The translation above comes from M. L. W. Laistner, *Thought and Letters in Western Europe, A.D. 500 to 900*, rev. edn (Ithaca, 1957), pp. 196–7.

50 Ardo, *The Life of Benedict of Aniane* IV.1, trans. Cabaniss, p. 71; Ardo, *Vita Benedicti*, p. 203.

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Leidrad of Lyons wanted to rebuild the monastery of Ile-Barbe, he eagerly sought out Benedict to send him a group of these well-disciplined monks to imbue his rebuilt monastery with a new spirit. Benedict's monks also filled posts at newly created monasteries, at the request of their founders. Bishop Theodulf of Orléans made such a request when he created Saint-Maximin, and even Alcuin beseeched Benedict to send him a group of monks to establish his monastery at Cormery. In each instance, Benedict sent out approximately twenty monks from Aniane to provide the foundation for these new monastic houses.[51] These exceptional monks brought with them not only a familiarity with the Benedictine Rule but also the new work ethos that Benedict advocated. If great ecclesiastical leaders like Theodulf and Alcuin had wanted monks to police their monasteries for adherence to the Rule of St Benedict or a particular custom, logically they would have required only one or two monks for the job. Implicit in their request is the need to transplant a group untainted by *acedia*, who provided the critical mass necessary to create a new culture virtually overnight within the cloister.

The spread of these Anianian monks throughout Francia increased pressure to transform monastic culture. Benedict of Aniane took the next step in this process by turning to a political resolution. After promoting the Rule of St Benedict throughout the empire, Benedict brought his reform movement into the legislative arena at the Council of Aachen in 816. Here the austerity of Benedict and those he had inspired resulted in a number of ordinances designed to fill the gaps in the Rule of St Benedict that allowed for moderation. The council introduced more austere measures into daily monastic life. For instance, new dietary rules restricted the consumption of wildfowl, a delicacy presumably associated with the nobility. The council also imposed discipline on sleep, forbidding monks to return to their cells and sleep immediately after vigils. Although Benedict did not impose his own lice-infested clothing regimen on others, the council decreed that clothing must not be expensive but mediocre in quality.[52] In addition to these disciplinary matters, the council drafted a number of capitularies designed to restore a proper working culture in Carolingian monasteries. Monks now confronted the expectation of working in the kitchens, the mills and the workshops belonging to the monastery with their own hands. They were to wash their own clothing. Work sometimes took precedence over unoccupied time or contemplative time. In one capitulary, the council agreed, 'If necessity dictates that they [the monks] should be occupied in gathering fruit, the time agreed upon for reading and the time at midday for resting should be omitted, and those working ought

51 Ardo, *The Life of Benedict of Aniane* XXIV.1–2, trans. Cabaniss, pp. 85–6; Ardo, *Vita Benedicti*, pp. 209–10. In affirmation of Ardo's comments, Alcuin also mentioned his request for these coveted monks in one of his letters to Arno of Salzburg. Alcuin, *Epistola 184*, ed. E. Dümmler, in *Epistolae* 4, Karolini aevi 2 (Hannover, 1895), p. 309.

52 *Synodi primae Aquisgranensis decreta authentica (816)*, ed. J. Semmler, in *Initia consuetudinis Benedictinae: Consuetudines saeculi octavi et noni*, ed. K. Hallinger, Corpus consuetudinum monasticarum 1 (Siegburg, 1963), pp. 458, 461.

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not murmur'.[53] This passage reveals both the new value given to work and the resistance to it. Apparently, the authors of this capitulary anticipated the grumblings among some who expressed their resentment to labor with 'murmuring'. With these decrees, the 816 Council of Aachen represented a victory for the reformers, who now brought a legal framework to their efforts to combat the *luxuria* threatening monasticism.

As is clear from the Council of Aachen, Benedict waged his campaign to reform the monastic working culture with the help of others. Of these none may have been more significant than Smaragdus, the abbot of St Mihiel.[54] His *Expositio in Regulam sancti Benedicti* applied the reforms Benedict implemented to an interpretation of the Rule of St Benedict. In his exposition of the Rule, Smaragdus revealed his concern for the working environment in monasteries, especially on the topic of manual labor (ch. 48 in the Benedictine Rule). For Smaragdus, manual labor was a moral imperative. Not only did it prevent idleness, which as Benedict of Nursia pointed out is the enemy of the soul, but it allowed the monk to provide the necessities for his own living, instead of depending on others. Most importantly, though, Smaragdus believed a monk should labor with his hands in order to provide for those who could not labor.[55] In this regard, Smaragdus referred not only to other brothers, but also to those outside the monastery. Benedict of Aniane supported this principle as well and practiced it at Aniane. During a severe famine in the region, several outsiders came to the monastery for shelter and provision since they could no longer provide for themselves. Under Benedict's orders, the monks cut their meager rations on several occasions throughout the next year so that they could furnish the surplus to those in need. According to Ardo, some of the monks had been so zealous in their sacrificial pursuit that they perished from famine.[56]

In many ways, Smaragdus reinterpreted the moderation of Benedict of Nursia's Rule to achieve his goal of reforming the working environment in

53 Ibid.: 'Ut si necessitas fuerit eos occupari in fruges colligendo constitutum legendi et meridie pausandi tempus pretermittatur et operantes non murmurent.' Note that this is the version found in four of the codices, whereas the one from 820 in Salzburg reads: 'Ut si necessitas fuerit eos occupari in fruges colligendi aut in alia opera non murmurent.'

54 On the role of Smaragdus of St Mihiel as a monastic reformer of the ninth century, albeit one with a flexible perspective on monastic practice, see M. Ponesse, 'Smaragdus of St Mihiel and the Carolingian Monastic Reform', *Revue bénédictine* 116 (2006), 367–92.

55 Smaragdus of St Mihiel, *Expositio in Regulam Sancti Benedicti*, ed. A. Spannagel and P. Engelbert, Corpus consuetudinum monasticarum 8 (Siegburg, 1974), pp. 271–2: 'Si enim apostoli corporale opus faciebant unde vitam corporis sustinerent, quanto magis monachi quibus oportet non solum vitae suae necessaria propriis manibus exhibere sed etiam indigentiam aliorum laboribus suis reficere. Qui viribus corporis et inegritate salutis consistunt si in opera otiosi sunt dupliciter peccare noscuntur, quia non solum non laborant sed etiam alios vitiant et ad imitationem suam invitant.'

56 Ardo, *The Life of Benedict of Aniane* VII.1–2, trans. Cabaniss, p. 73; Ardo, *Vita Benedicti*, p. 204.

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monasteries. For instance, Benedict of Nursia set guidelines for monks to follow in their daily routine, with certain times set aside for prayer, work and repose. Smaragdus placed greater emphasis on work than on free time, quoting Isidore in saying, 'but with his own time a monk ought to work and to concentrate on his own praying and reading'.[57] Also, while Benedict of Nursia did not subject a monk to any consequences for failing to work, Smaragdus advocated a punishment based on the Rule of Ferriolus, that the abbot exclude the monk from mealtimes.[58] Smaragdus also clarified that such 'work' could not be defined as reading and prayer, but only as manual labor. He says, 'Those who thus want to be idle for reading, so that they are not working, are contumacious, because they are not doing what they read there. For there it has been written: 'let the working men eat their own bread' (II Thessalonians 3. 10).[59]

Any monk who failed to implement such an interpretation of the Rule made himself susceptible to the vice of *acedia*. Smaragdus, as part of his commentary, crafted a careful definition of *acedia* drawn directly from works on the vices, such as Cassian and Alcuin. Smaragdus wrote:

> The *acediosus* man is called melancholy (*taediosus*), troubled (*anxius*), of a vain mind (*vanae mentis*), or fickle in soul (*animo levis*), who, disturbed by melancholy of the mind or encouraged by fickleness of the soul, neither lets himself read nor lets others have time for reading. He is found to be useless to himself in his rambling and harmful to others reading. For he loves idleness and gossip;[60] and so he distracts – that is he divides and throws into disorder – both himself and others from sacred reading. One who is in such a way must be corrected.[61]

Although the reference to *acedia* occurred in this instance in the context of reading, the fear of this vice motivated all of Smaragdus's comments about work in the monastery. Smaragdus even interjected the vice into his commentary on chapter 21 of the Rule of St Benedict, where Benedict himself never mentioned *otiositas* or *acedia*. Smaragdus wrote about brothers 'inflated by the spirit of *acedia*', who preferred to spend their time at leisure, sleep and gossip.[62] The difference in emphasis between Smaragdus and Benedict of Nursia came partly

57 Smaragdus of St Mihiel, *Expositio in Regulam Sancti Benedicti*, p. 272: 'Propriis autem temporibus oportet operari monachum et propriis orationi lectionique incumbere.'

58 Ibid.

59 Ibid.: 'Qui sic volunt vacari lectioni, ut non operentur, ipsi contumaces existunt, quia non faciunt quod ibi legunt. Ibi enim scriptum est: *Operantes suum panem manducent*.'

60 See below, n. 62.

61 Ibid., p. 274: 'Acediosus dicitur taediosus, anxius, vanae mentis, vel animo levis, qui taedio mentis commotus, vel levitate animi sublevatus, nec se sinit legere, nec alios lectioni sinit vacare. Qui et sibi vagando inutilis, et aliis legentibus invenitur esse contrarius. Otium enim et fabulas diligit; et ideo et se et alios a sacra lectione distollit, id est, segregat, vel disturbat. Qui taliter corripiendus est.'

62 Ibid., p. 214: 'Alii acidiae spiritu inflati otio et somno vacare cupiunt et curiosis fabulis sollicitantur . . .'

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from the different meanings of the word *acedia*. Whereas Benedict of Nursia envisioned manual labor as a prescription for the treatment of *acedia* in the case of those who had become dispirited by the daily grind of their monastic existence, Smaragdus interpreted manual labor as an activity that prevented monks from falling into *acedia*, that is into idleness and leisure. Smaragdus's commentary placed him in agreement with other writers of the Carolingian period who viewed *acedia* as a failure to perform one's obligations to God.[63]

Smaragdus, like many early medieval authors, carefully cloaked his opinions in the words of the ancient Fathers.[64] Augustine, Isidore, Ferriolus, Pachomius and other authorities contributed significantly to Smaragdus's composition. He carefully edited their passages to construct a new interpretation of Benedict of Nursia's Rule that proved relevant to the concerns of monasticism in his own time. Smaragdus's dependence on these ancient authors reinforced the strong connection between himself and Benedict of Aniane, since Smaragdus's quotations corresponded with the excerpts compiled in Benedict of Aniane's *Concordia regularum* concerning manual labor.[65]

Beyond the written word, the spirit of a new working culture can be found in the Plan of St Gall, an architectural design for a magnificent monastic complex, probably made by Abbot Haito of Reichnau before 830. There is some debate about whether or not the plan directly resulted from the monastic reform movement led by Benedict as it culminated in the Aachen decrees of 816. Although it is no longer safe to say that the design represented a paradigmatic monastery, nevertheless the spirit of Benedict's new work ethic permeated the plan.[66] St Gall signified a veritable beehive of monastic activity, but not just in terms of prayer or reading. The expansive monastic complex included a bake house, a brew house, schools, kitchens, infirmaries, hospices, a mill and a kiln. The designer brought some of these structures, such as the bake house, into the cloister, the area within the monastery restricted to the monks themselves. The placing of these working establishments within the sacred space of the monastery yielded a symbiosis between work and contemplation. The designer of St Gall therefore suggested in his plan that monks were to use their own hands to provide for themselves, rather than relying on laymen for labor. As noted previously, Richard Sullivan used the Plan of St Gall as a means to conceptualize Carolingian monasticism in terms of contact

63 Wenzel, 'Acedia 700–1200', pp. 78–82, 100–2.

64 J. Marenbon, 'Carolingian Thought', in *Carolingian Culture: Emulation and Innovation*, ed. R. McKitterick (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 171–92.

65 Benedict of Aniane, *Concordia regularum*, pp. 469–90. Also, on the relationship between Benedict and Smaragdus see the summary in Ponesse, 'Smaragdus', p. 375.

66 W. Horn and E. Born, *The Plan of St Gall: A Study of the Architecture and Economy and Life in a Paradigmatic Carolingian Monastery*, 3 vols., University of California Studies in the History of Art 19 (Berkeley, 1979), I, 20–5. For a review of the many critical responses to Horn and Born's work, see W. Sanderson, 'The Plan of St Gall Reconsidered', *Speculum* 60.3 (1985), 615–32.

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between the sacred and the secular worlds.[67] While there certainly was exposure between these two realms in the plan, all the activity in and around the monastery could also have served as a constant reminder to monks of the need to labor for themselves and for their community. Work was not a distant ideal but a close reality in St Gall. If we follow Sullivan's reasoning out to its logical conclusion, then monks wandering outside the cloister in the secular world would be an acceptable practice. On the contrary, authors in the Carolingian period frowned upon such practices and sometimes went to extreme measures to enclose monks within the cloister.[68] The designer of St Gall ensured that monks restricted to the cloister still had access to manual labor; of course, whether or not a group of monks chose to utilize that opportunity to work was another matter altogether.

Resistance to reform

Not everyone met the reforms of Benedict, Smaragdus, Haito and others with open arms. Indeed, conflict proved to be a natural extension to any attempts to transform the working culture within the monasteries, as in the case of the rebellious monks at Saint-Seine described by Ardo. Some of the reformers' accomplishments at the Aachen councils of 816 proved very short-lived, as evidenced by the Aachen councils convened in 817. Here, those entrenched in the current culture of the monasteries fought back to mitigate the reforming measures implemented in the 816 ordinances. For instance, in contrast to the earlier measure, admonishing monks for sleeping after vigils, a new decree extended them more opportunities for sleep, not fewer: 'when the brothers are fasting after Sext they may sleep in the summer'.[69] The re-emphasis here on increased sleeping time rather than work and austerity stood in direct opposition to the spirit of the decrees from 816 and to the broader reform movement attempting to eradicate the vices from the monasteries.

Evidence of the conflict between reformers and conservatives emerged not only at the imperial level but also on the local level. A few years prior to the council of 817, the monks of Fulda expressed their dissatisfaction with reform. Their abbot, Ratgar, had embraced Benedict's new work ethos designed to prevent *acedia*. He subjected the monks of Fulda to hard labor; they constructed a new, large and ornate church for the monastery. Ratgar zealously pursued this endeavor at the expense of other monastic duties. He shortened liturgical services and outsourced the management of the monastery's traditional responsibilities such as the mill and the kitchen to laymen. The disgruntled

67 See above, n. 9.

68 de Jong, *In Samuel's Image*, pp. 67, 152–5, 226–7; Ponesse, 'Smaragdus', pp. 379–89.

69 *Synodi secundae Aquisgranensis decreta authentica (817),* ed. J. Semmler in *Initia consuetudinis Benedictinae*, ed. K. Hallinger, p. 480. 'Ut quando fratres ieiunant post Sextam dormiant in aestate.'

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monks of Fulda objected to Ratgar's goals and his methods. In 812, they sent their *Supplex libellus* to Emperor Charlemagne detailing their trials and tribulations.[70]

Judging from the monks' outcry, Ratgar – who was so austere that he denied walking canes to the elderly – took the new work ethos too far. They complained that Ratgar made them work even on some feast days, in essence robbing them of some of their days of rest and abundant meals. Ratgar's measures also drove many out of the monastery, especially the elderly, the infirm and the 'delicate', who could not handle his rigorous demands. Since the *Supplex libellus* offers only one side of the conflict, it is difficult to know whether or not the monks exaggerated their experiences.[71] We can conclude, however, that the monks of Fulda, like those at Saint-Seine, did not see their traditional roles in the monastery as a problem; they preferred to have time to pray and feast, activities that labor should not impinge upon. Ratgar and the reformers, concerned about the complacency of monks in their traditional roles in the cloister, imposed manual labor that monks viewed as an excessive and unwelcome change to the status quo.

Mayke de Jong used the Fulda conflict to highlight her belief that Carolingian monasticism was characterized by extreme devotion to prayer because the appeal to Emperor Charlemagne concerned the inability of the monks at Fulda to conduct all their daily prayer services properly, including ones for the royal family. De Jong makes the excellent point that the monks of Fulda won their appeal, thus indicating the importance to Carolingian rulers of the monks maintaining their dedication to prayer. In 817, Emperor Louis the Pious removed Ratgar from office.[72] However, even though prayer may have been mentioned first in the petition, the monks listed a series of complaints touching upon many aspects of monastic life that they wanted to see restored to order.[73] Furthermore, from what can be discerned from their complaints, Ratgar may have been selectively applying the austerity of the reform movement. The monks of Fulda alleged a number of infractions concerning the management

70 *Supplex libellus monachorum Fuldensium Carolo Imperatori porrectus*, in ibid., pp. 321–7. For the connection between the *Supplex libellus* and Benedict of Aniane's reform movement, see J. Semmler, 'Studien zum *Supplex libellus* und zur Anianischen Reform in Fulda', *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 69 (1958), 268–98.

71 *Supplex libellus*, pp. 322–3.

72 de Jong, 'Carolingian Monasticism', pp. 650–1. In 812, the monks of Fulda appealed to Charlemagne, but as noted, the resolution came some five years later. The delay in response resulted from the transition of Frankish rulership from Charlemagne upon his death in 814 to his son and co-emperor Louis the Pious. With the Aachen reform synods on monasticism in 816 and 817, the removal of Ratgar coincided with a counter-reform movement against Benedict of Aniane's attempts to impose a more rigorous culture of work on monks within the Carolingian Empire.

73 *Supplex libellus*, pp. 319–29. In addition to the use of canes for the elderly and the restoration of feast days, the monks asked for a return to previous norms on the dispensation of food, the conduct of business within the monastery, the scrutiny of novices, the proper reception of pilgrims and guests and other matters.

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of money for entrants into the monastery and the administration of property from lay donations. Such income only served to spread vice within the monastery. The monks of Fulda complained that the conduct of private business and the administration of *beneficia* within the monastery led to 'altercations, contests, rivalries, wraths, quarrels, enmities, dissensions, envies, furtive revels and drunkenness' ('iurgia, contentiones, aemulationes, irae, rixae, inimicitiae, dissensiones, invidiae, furtivae comessationes et ebrietates'). The monks of Fulda also referred to those forced into entering the monastery and receiving the tonsure as 'perpetrators of vices' ('executores vitiorum').[74] Therefore, both the traditionalists and the reformers could exploit the discourse of the vices in order to justify their positions. The incident at Fulda remains one of the more vibrant and complex flashpoints in this larger conflict over the vices and working culture that stood at the forefront of Carolingian monasticism.

The legacy of Carolingian monastic reforms

Even though the reformers may have lost many of the battles in the conflict over the conduct of Carolingian monasticism, such as at the second Aachen councils in 817 and in the removal of Ratgar, others continued to wage the war against *acedia* after Benedict of Aniane had passed away. Hildemar (d. 850) wrote an exposition of the Rule of St Benedict well after the Aachen reform councils. His interpretation of chapter 48 of the Rule of St Benedict shows the development of thought from the zenith of the conflict to its aftermath. The chastisement that characterized Smaragdus's commentary has disappeared. Instead, Hildemar wrote plainly, with less zeal but more assurance. Like St Benedict and Smaragdus, he began with the correlation between idleness and sin. *Otiositas* (idleness) led down the same path followed by the Sodomites, whose sins were abominable in the eyes of God. The more time the Sodomites had for leisure, the more sin engulfed their lives.[75] Benedict of Nursia solved this problem by scheduling the day with certain activities: 'And likewise the brothers ought to be occupied at certain times in manual labor, at certain times in divine reading.' Hildemar's interpretation of this passage is enlightening:

> Because blessed Benedict understood that these two lives, that is the active and the contemplative, are necessary for a perfect man, [Benedict] also divided them by time and rightly designated the active first and then the contemplative; he designated the active life as keeping busy at work, and through free time spent at reading he designated the contemplative. The two wives of Jacob, i.e. Leah and Rachel, designated these two lives. For Jacob did not receive what he wanted, Rachel, but rather Leah, and received her

74 Ibid., pp. 324–5.

75 Hildemar of Corbie, *Expositio Regulae Sancti Benedicti*, in *Vita et regula SS. P. Benedicti*, part 3: *Expositio regulae ab Hildemaro tradita et nunc primum typis mandata*, ed. R. Mittermüller (Regensburg, 1880), pp. 476–7.

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> at night. Leah truly was bleary-eyed [i.e., plain looking] but fertile; Rachel had a beautiful countenance but was infertile. . . . [I]n Jacob the good monk is understood, in Leah, who was bleary-eyed but fertile, the active life is represented. In Leah the active life is represented well because even though the active life has not been intended for contemplation, nevertheless it produces sons for God. In the beautiful Rachel the contemplative life is represented; the more it advances in contemplation, the less it produces sons of God. One must pay attention to this, because just as he [Jacob] wanted to receive Rachel and did not receive her, but rather Leah, so also the good man is not able to come to contemplation without first having kept busy in the active life, and that person will come to the contemplative life in the correct manner, who first had passed his time properly in the active life. And that monk, if he has worked with his hands properly and providently, will receive [the gift of] either contemplation or tears when he begins to read. For by no means will he be able to have time for careful reading, if he did not first keep busy at work legitimately with his hands. The contemplative life is reading and praying and psalms; the active life is keeping busy with the hands.[76]

Hildemar found real meaning in the order of Benedict's Rule. Because Benedict mentioned manual labor first in the monk's daily life, Hildemar interpreted this to mean that it took temporal priority over the contemplative life. And if there had been any doubt about whether the active life might involve prayer or the recitation of psalms, Hildemar clarified that the active life signified work with the hands, i.e. manual labor.

Hildemar's analogy to the biblical story of Jacob and the two daughters of Laban, Leah and Rachel, requires some understanding of the book of Genesis (ch. 29). Jacob had traveled to see Laban in order to find a suitable wife. Upon his arrival, Jacob became smitten with Rachel, and he soon negotiated a deal with Laban whereby he would receive her in matrimony after seven years of

[76] Ibid., pp. 477–8. 'Quia cognovit B. Benedictus, has duas vitas, i.e. activam et contemplativam necessarias esse homini perfecto, ideo illas [B. Benedictus] divisit per tempora et bene primum activam designavit, et postea contemplativam; per exercitationem operis designavit activam vitam, et per vacationem lectionis designavit comtemplativam. Has duas vitas designaverunt illae duae mulieres Jacob, i.e. Lia et Rachel. Jacob enim non accepit, quam voluit, Rachel, sed Liam, et nocte accepit illam. Lia vero erat lippis oculis et foecunda, Rachel formosa aspectu, sed infoecunda. . . . [P]er Jacob intelligitur bonus monachus, per Liam vero, quae lippis erat oculis, sed foecunda, figuratur activa vita. Bene per Liam figuratur activa vita, quia activa vita etsi non est intenta in contemplatione, tamen filios Deo procreat. Per Rachel pulchram figuratur contemplativa vita; quantum plus proficit in contemplatione, tanto minus procreat Deo filios. Hoc attendendum est, quia, sicut ille voluit accipere Rachel et non accepit, sed Liam, ita et bonus homo non potest prius pervenire ad comtemplationem, nisi exercitatus fuerit in activa vita, et ille ad contemplativam bene veniet, qui recte prius conversatus fuerit in activa vita. Et ille monachus, si caute et recte opera manuum exercuerit, quando ad lectionem venerit, aut contemplationem aut lacrimas accipiet. Nequaquam enim poterit ille studiose lectioni vacare, si prius non legitime opera manuum exercuerit. Contemplativa vita est lectio et oratio et psalmodia; activa vita est exercitatio manuum.'

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labor. Yet, when Jacob had completed this task, Laban tricked him into sleeping with Leah, Rachel's sister, because she was the older daughter. It was customary for the eldest to marry first before the second daughter could be released. Laban gladly offered to renew their previous arrangement, and Jacob labored for another seven years before he finally took Rachel as his second wife.

Hildemar craftily used this story to his advantage by drawing comparisons: Jacob represented the ideal monk, Leah stood for manual labor and Rachel represented contemplation. A monk may desire contemplation (Rachel), but one (Jacob) can only attain a truly contemplative life (Rachel) after first laboring manually (Leah). God sanctioned this order because he made Leah, the unloved and plain-looking girl, fertile so that she could provide Jacob children. Hildemar followed this line of reasoning to the fullest extent, saying that those who spent time at contemplation without labor did so in vain. It would not work. The perfect monk in the eyes of God was the one who respected manual labor first and then embraced the contemplative life. In a way, Hildemar applied asceticism to the daily routine of the monk. The proper monk suppressed his desires for the contemplative life in order to fulfill the obligations of the active life.

Hildemar's passage signified a shift in mentality from earlier reformers like Benedict of Aniane. As reported by Ardo, Benedict embraced the active side of monasticism and pushed the culture within the cloister to embrace it as well. At the same time, Smaragdus spoke of manual labor with high regard: it was a moral obligation to society. Nevertheless, Smaragdus chose to emphasize the punishments that should be levied for those who failed to work; evidently the value of labor had to be enforced. The Councils of Aachen and the actions of Ratgar affirmed the need to enforce manual labor. Benedict and Smaragdus set out to change the culture of work. Hildemar wrote as one who has already been transformed. Hildemar did not coerce compliance through punishment or through the projection of an unattainable ideal like those found in popular *vitae*. Hildemar did not resort to extremes and, in fact, he did not even resort to the ancient Fathers to justify his message. Instead, he introduced young monks to monastic life and offered guidance. What Hildemar taught was far more radical than anything Benedict of Aniane or Smaragdus advised. He gave voice to the idea that the active life was just as important to monks as the contemplative life. One could not be had without the other. While Smaragdus's writings and Benedict of Aniane's actions may imply a dependence of the contemplative life on the active life, they never stated it.

Asceticism and the new working culture settled into some Carolingian monasteries by the close of the ninth century. In the case of Rigrannus of Le Mans in the 870s, his life as a monk was ridiculed by his family members, who were members of the clergy and could not understand why Rigrannus would choose monasticism over the canonical life. They asked him why he wanted 'to be satisfied with a pig-like life of beans and vegetables?' They enticed him with the promise of abundant food, including meat, abundant drink, including wine, abundant leisure time, including the hunt, and abundant social

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interaction, including voluptuous women. They contrasted such earthly delights to Rigrannus's wretched existence as a monk, comparing him to beggars and mocking his pitiful diet. Rigrannus refused to capitulate to their seductions, though several years later he would revert to canonical life. The dialogue between Rigrannus and his family must not be taken too literally, as it was written by one of the monks of Le Mans.[77] However, if those mocking Rigrannus reverted here to stereotypes about monastic life, at least they projected an image of austerity and rigor that comports well with the mission of monastic reformers some fifty years earlier. Rigrannus found little pleasure in worldly matters or wealth during his time as a monk.

Hildemar, Smaragdus and Benedict of Aniane's political actions and historical circumstances support the characterization by Ardo of the monastery at Saint-Seine and its problems with the vices. The conflict between reformers seeking to transform working culture within monasteries and those seeking to reap the benefits of monastic wealth colored the interactions of monks for much of the eighth and ninth centuries. Such a characterization may seem out of place in the greater history of monasticism. Historians often associate this dynamic with monasticism of the central and high Middle Ages, when the accumulated wealth and complacency of monks sparked radical changes in society, including the Gregorian reform movement and the creation of new monastic programs. Historians have called the period of the eleventh and twelfth centuries the crisis of Western monasticism, and it came with a strong surge of austerity and asceticism.[78] While Benedict of Aniane, Ardo, Ratgar, Smaragdus and Hildemar existed in a different context, through an examination of the vices and working culture it is possible to see the crisis manifesting itself much earlier than usually thought. After a successful increase of wealth, endowments and royal sponsorship, Carolingian monasticism faced the effects of its early success in the form of the vices. Historians will find a better framework for understanding Carolingian monasticism by regarding the famous uniformity of the Benedictine Rule and of the customs established by Benedict of Aniane as a means to an end, rather than a final goal. That end was to replace form with substance, to transform the mentality of the cloistered life from one of complacency to one of relentless work of the mind, soul and most especially the body. Or, as Hildemar aptly wrote, 'A change in behavior means eradicating vices and planting virtues.'[79]

77 G. Constable, 'Monks and Canons in Carolingian Gaul: The Case of Rigrannus of Le Mans', in *After Rome's Fall*, ed. Murray, pp. 325–34.

78 See above, n. 30.

79 Hildemar of Corbie, *Expositio*, ed. Mittermüller, p. 541. 'Conversio morum est eradicatio vitiorum et plantatio virtutum.'

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CHAPTER TWO

The Cultural Career of a 'Minor' Vice: Arrogance in the Medieval Treatise on Sin

Kiril Petkov, University of Wisconsin-River Falls

This essay explores the conceptualization of arrogance in medieval moral theology as presented in one of its main genres, the treatise on sin and vice. In the period between the fifth and the fifteenth centuries the concept of arrogance was consistently applied to brand as immoral and thus render as illicit power relations and claims, social restructurings and cultural forms, denied validity by mainstream moral theology for social reasons. Initially subsumed under the concept of pride, arrogance gradually uncoupled itself and became the moral playground of the competition for agency. Tracing the main stages of arrogance's conceptual evolution, the essay highlights how the treatises on sin and vice, through their formulation of arrogance, reflected on the relationship between social dynamics and normative value within a series of specific historical contexts: Merovingian political theology, Carolingian state-building, the twelfth-century clash between rationalism and mysticism, the erosion of status society and the high medieval order and the diffusion of legitimacy-producing discourses in the late Middle Ages.

Modern Western value theory, still in many ways an intellectual heir of sacred ethics, has come a long way from the medieval Christian theory of vice. It has come to valorize positively almost the entire host summed up in the medieval theory of the seven deadly sins. A different 'moral arithmetic', to use John Bossy's apt phrase, applies today.[1] Pride is lauded. Avarice, its old rival for

[1] Most of the research for this article was made possible by a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities, which allowed me to participate in the National Endowment for the Humanities Summer Seminar on the 'Seven Deadly Sins' in Cambridge, England, July–August 2006, directed by Richard Newhauser. I should like to thank the NEH and especially the director of the seminar for giving me the opportunity to further my inquiry. Any views, findings, conclusions or recommendations expressed in this publication do not necessarily reflect those of the NEH. I am also very grateful to Richard Newhauser and Susan Ridyard for the thorough editing of the text and notes of the article and for their numerous

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leadership of the deadly sins, is reveled in. The rest of the sins, formerly capital, mortal, venial or other, are lukewarmly embraced. In the period from the fourteenth to the twentieth century the old vices, one after another, lost their reprehensibility and became virtues. Capitalism, egalitarianism, consumerism, class, hedonism, democracy, secularization and social mobility shored up a new value set. Except, that is, for a short list of exceptions. Arrogance ranks very highly on that list. True, it has lost its theological gravity and its moral core is significantly lighter. And yet arrogance still appears to engender more moral indignation than any of the other venerable vices of the old theological set. This should not be surprising, remembering how it began – as a main modality, if not chief incarnation, of that fountainhead of vice, pride. Given pride's cultural career, however, such a valuation of arrogance is somewhat startling.

A closer inquiry into the shifting conceptual field of arrogance against the background of an evolving medieval society will make its persisting condemnation and its radical uncoupling from pride less of a mystery. The morphing of arrogance into the modern concept of dismissible, even if offensive, foolishness was accomplished, in its fullness, within the medieval theory of sin and vice. The steady negative valuation of arrogance does not seem to be the result of an inherent moral impulse to censure displays of what the ancient Greeks defined as *hubris*: a transgression of humankind's limitations and the gods' power. Arrogance became what it is because it proved to be the concept that best accommodates anxiety over the shifting relations between social dynamics and normative values. Residing within the relatively stable parameters mapped out by scriptural morality and ancient Greek ethics was a permeable core that soaked up the angst engendered by the particularly Western showdown between individual and society. The transformations of the conceptual field of arrogance which medieval theologians recorded, reflected on, and fretted over, mark the milestones of this face-off. Inquiring into the meanings of arrogance every time it conspicuously came to the fore allows us, therefore, to fine-tune our understanding of how major social and cultural restructurings of the medieval West were grasped and represented in its normative ethics. By the late fourteenth century, when the modern meaning of what was understood as arrogance was fixed, for the time being, its conceptualization came to signify the triumph of the confident collective over the overbearing pride – read the futile revolt – of the tamed individual. With this meaning, arrogance entered the early modern world; it is still its chief connotation in postmodern morality. Is that perception still relevant or is it the product of a time lag before new meaning is infused into arrogance's old wineskin? The preoccupations of medieval theology will provide us with useful clues to answer this question.

The theory of sin and vice as advanced by a stream of treatises composed between the beginning of the patristic age and the end of the Middle Ages is

additions, corrections and suggestions. For Bossy's concept of 'moral arithmetic', see Bossy, 'Arithmetic'.

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a useful barometer for gauging the main directions of theology's concerns.[2] While arrogance appears in them only occasionally and in specific contexts, its conceptualization is much better attuned than that of pride to highlight the shifting relations between social reality and normative value.

The theological start of arrogance was inauspicious, mostly due to its intimate entanglement with the definition of pride. The relational field mapped out by pride is a critical juncture in the Judeo-Christian tradition. It is the point where humans cross God by departing from the underlying doctrine of the Scripture: the hegemonic supremacy of the divine. In this context the claim that pride stakes on the world, a claim defined by Scripture as arrogance, is the benchmark of illegitimacy. Human pride is arrogance by default. Pride stood for a foredoomed attempt to redefine the manner in which power was appropriated, for power could not be licitly arrogated. It could only be delegated by God. And because God worked for a moral world, illicit claims on power constituted immorality. Pride and its claim, arrogance, were thus the example par excellence of ethical lack. The fountainhead of the tradition, the Vulgate Bible, inscribed the difference between substance and claim, respectively pride and arrogance, by casting the concept of arrogance as a noun almost as many times as it designated it with a present participle and an adverb.[3]

As pride became the root of all sin and the negative cornerstone of the early and high medieval ethics of sin, the Christian Fathers did not try to disentangle the complex relation between pride and arrogance.[4] In the face of God, one could

2 The principal introduction to the genre remains Newhauser, *Treatise*. See now also *Garden of Evil*, with exhaustive bibliography of recent works. A comprehensive though not detailed survey is offered by Casagrande and Vecchio, *Vizi*. The classic discussion of the impact of social change on the medieval theory of vice is L. K. Little, 'Pride Goes before Avarice: Social Change and the Vices in Latin Christendom', *The American Historical Review* 76.1 (1971), 16–49.

3 *Novae concordantiae bibliorum sacrorum iuxta Vulgatam versionem critice editam*, ed. B. Fischer, OSB, 5 vols. (Stuttgart, 1977), I, 420–1. The Vulgate uses 'arrogance' on sixteen occasions, nine times as a noun, six times as a present participle and one time as an adverb. I would like to thank the anonymous reader of this volume for bringing this to my attention. For some Old Testament parallels to the Christian perception, see, in a Hebrew context, J. Newman, 'God Condemns the Arrogance of Power: The Prayer in 3 Maccabees 6, 2–15', in *Prayer from Alexander to Constantine: A Critical Anthology*, ed. M. Kiley *et al.* (London, 1993), pp. 48–52; in the Talmud to maintain group solidarity, S. E. Weinstein, *Piety and Fanaticism: Rabbinic Criticism of Religious Stringency* (Northvale, 2001), pp. 193–210.

4 For Augustine's use of the term, see *Concordantiae Augustinianae sive Collectio omnium sententiarum quae sparsim reperiuntur in omnibus S. Augustini operibus*, ed. D. Lenfant, 2 vols. (Paris, 1656–65), I, s.v. 'arrogantia'. His definition of hollow self-assertion and appropriation of praise makes arrogance a component of the political domain structured by man's wish 'to usurp his dominion over his fellow creatures'. See *De civitate Dei* 19.12, ed. B. Dombart and A. Kalb, 2 vols, CCSL 47 and 48 (Turnhout, 1955), II, 675–8. The monastic writer, John Cassian, saw arrogance as a phenomenon of psychology and conduct, disrespectful disobedience and shamelessness; see John Cassian, *The Institutes* chapters 28–9, trans. B. Ramsey, OP (New York, 2000), pp. 270–1.

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not be proud without being arrogant. In what was to become the medieval norm in conceptualizing the field covered by the two phenomena, Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Job*, pride and arrogance are interchangeable terms and appear in four 'species': the attribution of gifts (*bona*) to oneself rather than to God's grace, the belief that these gifts are merited, a boasting of what one does not have, and the attribution of certain qualities exclusively to oneself and contempt for the rest of humanity that allegedly lacks them.[5] Gregory marks pride as 'tumor arrogantium' ('the swell of arrogance'), uses the terms indiscriminately, and places them squarely within a metaphysical context.

The post-patristic age remained solidly in Gregory's debt, and until the eighth century no definition of arrogance was distilled that set it categorically apart from pride.[6] At the beginning of the Carolingian era, however, things began to change. In Merovingian times, the scriptural model of divine power as centralized and hegemonic confronted earthly realms in which power was decentralized, diffused and contestable. In such conditions, scriptural exegesis became a matter of political ideology. The multiple nodes of power legitimately existing in the Merovingian context threatened chaos. They had to be ordered, delegitimized and subordinated to one agent, the one that the exegete endorsed and legitimated. To accomplish this, Carolingian exegetes had to perform the Herculean task of mystifying their specific political theologies in terms of scriptural hegemony. Contextualizing competing claims within the scriptural scheme made them immoral and illicit, since in the hegemonic discourse only one power enjoyed legitimacy. There was no need to specify meaning. Arrogance constituted by default a distinction between licit and illicit power. It became a semantic key rendering the meaning of illegitimacy and immorality attributed to the competing powers self-evident, common sense and a logical conclusion. As the sub-Roman Merovingian establishment gave way to new political institutions, with systematic attempts to centralize power, integrate the different populations of the Frankish dominions within a unified value system, and give the Carolingians a cutting edge internationally, the

5 Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Job* 23.6.13, ed. M. Adriaen, 3 vols., CCSL 143, 143A and 143B (Turnhout, 1979–85), III, 1153; some references to arrogance as substitute for pride: 26.1, 17, 18; 23.5. The definition of pride as *amor propriae excellentiae* is by Prosper of Aquitaine, *Sententiae*, *PL* 51, 471.

6 See, for example, Isidore of Seville, *Differentiae* 1.3, *PL* 83, 9A; 1.504, *PL* 83, 60C; Isidore of Seville, *Liber differentiarum [II]*, 41, ed. M. A. Andrés Sanz, CCSL 111A (Turnhout, 2006), p. 111 (= *PL* 83, 98A); Isidore of Seville, *Sententiae*, 2.38, ed. P. Cazier, CCSL 111 (Turnhout, 1998), pp. 167–9 (= *PL* 83, 639A-40B), where the only distinction between the two is that arrogance is an open boasting while pride is a hidden exaltation of the mind; Taio, bishop of Saragossa (653–81), *Sententiarum libri quinque* 4.14, *PL* 80, 928D-29D; Defensor (?), *Liber scintillarum* 20.19 ('De vana gloria') and 81.32 ('De lectionibus'), ed. H. Rochais, CCSL 117 (Turnhout, 1957), pp. 93, 233; Martin of Braga, 'Pride', in *Iberian Fathers*, I: *Martin of Braga, Paschasius of Dumium, Leander of Seville*, trans. C. W. Barlow, The Fathers of the Church: A New Translation 62 (Washington, DC, 1969), pp. 43–9. Martin eschews the term arrogance; his pride affects those who excel spiritually and are rich and powerful; ibid., p. 47.

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implications of arrogance inherent in the Gregorian exegesis came in handy: earthly authority could be patterned on divine hegemony to deny competing claims by branding them as arrogant.

At the pinnacle of this moralization of the process of centralizing power stood Alcuin's hugely influential *Liber de virtutibus et de vitiis*. Alcuin's *superbia* incorporates a series of power-related phenomena, each one more reprehensible than the one before. Disobedience, presumption, pertinacity, contention, heresy and arrogance are included in the list. Having defined vainglory as man's attribution of his goods (innate qualities and achievements) to himself rather than God, Alcuin then treats it as the root from which the same reprehensible branch springs out once again, this time including boasting, arrogance, indignation, discord, craving for vainglory and hypocrisy.[7] None of these is defined; Alcuin thought them transparent enough. One must remember for whom his work was intended. Alcuin wrote for Wido, Charlemagne's designated margrave in Brittany, a province freshly subdued, rough in terrain and custom, and conducive to separatism. He was concerned for the margrave's moral edification and wished to build in him a sense of moral responsibility. In the circumstances of 799–800, moreover, the margrave basked in his victories. It is a fair conjecture that Alcuin sought to arrest the rise of vainglory in his noble's heart as much as he sought to inculcate some political loyalty in him. The individual sins he lists, and the company they keep, are poignant examples of the Carolingians' all-out attempt to tame their over-mighty subjects. Merovingian potentates found it hard to bend their necks under the new rulers; that Charlemagne's lieutenants would be tempted to follow suit was at least a possibility. Alcuin set out to assure them that such resistance would be nothing short of a reprehensible sin and disruption of the divinely ordained order. Later, with Charlemagne gone and his descendents squabbling over his hard-won, far-flung empire, the popularity of Alcuin's list attests to the resonance that the call for a structured system of authority had, and the difficulties that the program faced throughout the ninth and tenth centuries.[8]

7 Alcuin, *De virtutibus et vitiis liber ad Widonem Comitem* 23–34, *PL* 101, 630C–637A. On this text, see now D. D. Allman, 'Sin and the Construction of Carolingian Kingship', in *Seven Deadly Sins*, pp. 21–40 (pp. 33–40).

8 The treatise crossed the English Channel and was deemed worthy of translation into Old English; see C. A. Lees, 'The Dissemination of Alcuin's *De virtutibus et vitiis liber* in Old English: A Preliminary Survey', *Leeds Studies in English* n.s. 16 (1985), 174–89. It is not by coincidence that Alcuin's contemporaries and younger fellow moralists, Paulinus of Aquileia, Halitgar of Cambrai and Hrabanus Maurus, found the murkiness of the conceptual field of pride expedient. Written during the relatively calm early years of Louis the Pious, their lists of sins dull the political edge of Alcuin's sharp message to the nobility while still preserving the force of a moral admonition backed up by the divinity. See Paulinus of Aquileia, *Liber exhortationis ad Henricum comitem seu ducem Forojuliensem* 19, *PL* 99, 211A–C; Halitgar, *De vitiis et virtutibus* 1.1, *PL* 105, 658C; Hrabanus Maurus, *De vitiis et virtutibus* 3.2, *PL* 112, 1348B. By contrast, Jonas of Orléans, whose *De institutione laicali* (830s–840s) was meant to instill in Madfrid, count of Orléans, the norms of conduct fitting for a

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The reason why the meaning of arrogance gradually crystalized in this way was the need to eradicate the core values of Germanic society and, especially, of the Germanic nobility's political conduct. The Germanic 'warrior ethos', shorthand for the prevailing value system of early medieval Western Europe, endorsed personal self-sufficiency and sovereignty. It lacked moral abstractions such as 'good' and 'evil'. Concepts referring to self-reliance, self-confidence, pride, glory and the promotion of the individual had overwhelmingly positive meaning.[9] This, of course, was fundamentally incompatible with the call for the submission of aristocrats and the population to a centralized state authority. Devaluing that ethos was indispensable for carrying out the Carolingian political design. A massive legislative effort was launched to infuse the valuation of a host of Germanic terms, such as *geili*, *gelf*, *ruom*, *oferhyrd-*, *ofermod-*, *prut*, *modi-* with the negative connotations of their Latin correspondents, *superbia*, *vana gloria*, *iactantia* and, not least, *arrogantia*. A moral reprogramming went hand in hand with this effort. The Carolingian *ecclesia militans* made it clear that 'pompa diaboli est pompa mundi, id est ambitio, arrogantia, vana gloria' ('the pomp of the world, that is, ambition, arrogance, and vainglory, is the pomp of the devil').[10] Influential ninth-century Carolingian penitentials hammered home the same point. Among the vanities of this world, arrogance was first; then came hatred, envy, theft, drunkenness, lust, adultery and a host of other sins.[11] Arrogance, with the meaning of sovereignty of the individual, came to be condemned as the main opposition of true virtue.[12]

Throughout the Carolingian period, therefore, arrogance operated in the political realm of state-building and legitimizing. A projection of the metaphysical model in the political world of the Carolingians, it referred to all that stood in the way of forging a sole legitimate political authority and repre-

high aristocrat all but subsumed pride and vainglory under arrogance; see Jonas of Orléans, *De institutione laicali* 3.6, *PL* 106, 246C–D. Again, what matters is that Jonas was calling for a concerted action of the high aristocracy and warning his addressee of the consequences of reckless individual action.

9 W. Hempel, *Übermuot diu alte: Der Superbia-Gedanke und seine Rolle in der deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters*, Studien zur Germanistik, Anglistik und Komparatistik 1 (Bonn, 1970), pp. 43–59; H. Schabram, *Superbia: Studien zum altenglischen Wortschatz* I: *Die dialectale und zeitliche Verbreitung des Wortguts* (Munich, 1965).

10 See *Capitula neustrica prima*, ed. R. Pokorny, in MGH, Capitula episcoporum 3 (Hannover, 1995), p. 54 (after 829).

11 *Penitential of Pseudo-Egbert*, chapter 8, in F. W. H. Wasserschleben, *Die Bußordnungen der abendländischen Kirche* (Halle, 1851), p. 18; Hempel, *Übermuot*, p. 71.

12 *Libri Carolini*, ed. A. Freeman, in collaboration with P. Meyvaert, in *Opus Caroli regis contra synodum (Libri Carolini)*, MGH Concilia 2, Suppl. 1 (Hannover, 1998), p. 312. The *Libri Carolini*, the main Carolingian treatise on the principles of Western Christianity, add another dimension, employing arrogance as the major discursive instrument in a polemic that denied the validity of Greek iconoclasm. It also linked its denunciation to the claim for political preeminence in order to delegitimize the Byzantine conception of the correct world order. See *Libri Carolini*, ed. Freeman, Index, p. 621. For the circumstances of the composition and the subsequent destiny of *Libri Carolini*, see the Introduction.

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sented individual claims of agency and sovereignty contesting societal, specifically state, authority. Drawing on patristic moral exegesis, the Carolingian authors perpetuated the direct link between power and morality to admonish, condemn and misrepresent all that resisted the process of centralization of power and monopolization of authority. When, by the mid-ninth century, the Carolingian empire fragmented, the vigor of the moral exegesis that shored it up ideologically died with it. Normative morality as a projection of state authority entered a lackluster period until the twelfth century when, once again, arrogance was recalled from the mist of oblivion.

This time around, however, a mere reference to the metaphysical paradigm did not suffice. Accompanying the coming of theology properly so called, a roster of new social and cultural forces shaped the principal values of the epoch. Several new directions of moral thought, developed by affective spirituality, monastic asceticism, speculative theology and scholasticism, engaged their worlds with new rigor. Revisiting traditional exegetical categories now required the production and discussion of meanings different from the patristic paradigm. The quest to assign meaning to the old and evidently too broad concept of arrogance now began in earnest. The former complete equation of arrogance with pride was seen as too rigid and inflexible. The patterns that emerge from this process of reformulating Gregory's paradigm address the shifting configurations of power, morals and values throughout the late medieval period.

The revived monasticism of the twelfth century re-opened the discussion with two definitions that were to have a long life. They indicate a key development: the compression of the Gregorian formula to emphasize essential lack and its mystification. Conrad of Hirsau's *De fructibus carnis et spiritus*, composed in the second quarter of the century, was a moral compendium in the vein of the new Benedictine asceticism permeated by the early scholastic tendency to organize, systematize, categorize and reduce phenomena to their basic substances. Conrad's arrogance is a companion and follower of vainglory, alongside such familiar minor sins as hypocrisy, disobedience, boasting and presumption of novelties. The concept behind the term, however, is a reduction of Gregory, defined as 'venditare quae non habes et gloriari ex eo quod non acceperis placendi hominibus cupiditate' ('selling what you do not have and priding yourself on what you have not received to please men's desire').[13] Conrad's emphasis is almost exclusively on existential lack and misrepresentation, reflecting the reformed Benedictine's impatience with the older ways of his order. Conrad's contemporary, Bernard of Clairvaux, expanded on the issue, explaining how that moral void came into being. A proponent of affective spirituality, Bernard engaged in a bitter dispute with the increasing rationalism of his age. Like the early monastic Fathers, he wrote his *Steps of Humility and Pride* to admonish his brethren, in this case those who had lost sight of the central monastic virtue. But the Cistercian's demons were not the desert phantoms that tormented the solitary monk. One cannot help thinking that Bernard's concept of arrogance,

13 Conrad of Hirsau, *De fructibus carnis et spiritus* 4, *PL* 176, 997–1009 (col. 1000A).

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terminologically located within the Gregorian paradigm, was strongly colored by his exposure to alternative ways of pursuing the ultimate truth. Bernard's focus is on a very specific issue: the mechanism of attainment of the holy. This elusive aim was pursued in a quite different manner by the new mystics, on the one hand, and early scholasticism, which stressed discourse, on the other. Bernard insists that arrogance comes as a result of listening to too much praise, empty words, especially those of men quite ignorant or too benevolent. Words deceive and cause a man to put aside his own motives. Not only does he exalt his own piety, but he also comes to believe, deep in his heart, that he is holier than all other men, arrogantly ascribing what he is being praised for to his own merit.[14] Such a meaning of arrogance, Gregorian as it is, places the sin squarely within Bernard's conviction of the superiority of affective mysticism over intellectual inquiry, so well attested in his clash with Abelard. His arrogant monk, misled by effusive babble, does not claim exclusivity. He does not necessarily lack virtue either. Yet the fallen monk fails to recognize the correct process of attaining knowledge, and the virtue thus illicitly claimed is patently lacking: a perfect case of *arrogantia*.[15]

Although defining arrogance differently, Conrad and Bernard share a fundamental agreement: ultimately, for both of them the problem with arrogance was that an epistemological fallacy underpinned claims for cultural, and thus political, superiority. The claim of the arrogant was shored up not by true knowledge, but by its lack and misrepresentation (Conrad) and by failure to recognize its origins (Bernard). The more forceful of the two, Bernard uses the psychological environment of human susceptibility to praise and self-love to deny validity to alternative discourses about attaining knowledge of the incomprehensible. Since the right to religious leadership was predicated on correct spirituality, Bernard's epistemology is politically tinged. He stood for a world in which there was one truth and one way to get to it; the rest was arrogance and *usurpatio*.

14 *The Steps of Humility, by Bernard Abbot of Clairvaux*, chapter 15: *De sexto gradu superbiae id est arrogantia*, ed. and trans. G. Burch (Cambridge, MA, 1942).

15 Bernard's understanding of the meaning of the Gregorian paradigm in terms of the major contemporary controversy is attested in his other works as well. On several occasions in his correspondence, for example, he insists that true knowledge of the divine comes only through divinely inspired humility, either through direct inspiration or via the Scriptures, whereas men's words have only the dangerous effect of engendering arrogance, insolence, overbearing pride, *usurpatio* of what is God's and the claiming for oneself of what belongs to God and is dispensed as a gift. See his poignant letter to Master Walter of Chaumont, *Epistola* 104.1–2 and the letter to the canon Ogier, *Epistola* 87.11, in *Sancti Bernardi opera*, ed. J. Leclercq, H. M. Rochais and C. H. Talbot, 8 vols. (Rome, 1957–77), VII, 261–3, 224–31 (p. 230), where arrogance is a lack of restraint and an exalting of oneself. For a list of Bernard's uses of *arrogantia* and its derivatives, see the CETEDOC microfiches, *Thesaurus sancti Bernardi Claraevallensis* (Turnhout, 1987–2001). I would like to thank the editors of the present volume for suggesting a look at Bernard's other works for the context of his concept of arrogance.

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At bottom, both authors display a deep anxiety about the repercussions of the fledging link between knowledge and power. The social worlds in which late twelfth- and early thirteenth-century theologians were immersed justified that anxiety. The moralist who was perhaps most finely attuned to the overwhelming feeling of 'anything goes' was Alan of Lille. In three of his central treatises, *De planctu Naturae*, *De virtutibus et de vitiis et de donis Spiritus Sancti* and *Summa de arte praedicatoria*, Alan succinctly translated social anxieties into moral terms and took the monastic reaction to diversity in discourse to a social level.[16] For him, the major vice is vainglory. It leads the list of sins and appears in a host of incarnations, from *elatio* to *superbia* to *arrogantia* to *insolentia*. Arrogance is on a par with pride, marking a person's self-assertion in the face of group and society. Following Augustine, Alan sees vainglory as an inordinate movement of the soul that desires one's own excellence and honor before that of others. Arrogance, for its part, pushes one to boast of what one does not have. Collapsing arrogance and boasting (*iactantia*), Alan focused on the drive for expressive self-definition via discourse rather than through display. His formula is a reduction in the vein of monastic thought, but his context is more clearly social. Its relational valence increases too. Alan thus conveys a sharpened sensibility, if not anxiety, over the overt exploitation of new venues for social advancement. The benchmark available to him was estate society, whose proponents saw it as a natural phenomenon. Believing in natural limits, Alan conservatively endows the social construct of estate with the sanctity of 'natural' order and devalues the self-promotion enabled by mobility and mutability that defied that order. Concerned with morals in a rapidly shifting social milieu, he felt compelled to admonish those who 'extol themselves insolently above themselves only to fall down in ruins below themselves'.[17] Forge ahead, he implied, shape yourself within your natural limits – and then stop. Even without defining the concept's provenance, Alan reoriented the discourse on a fundamental level. His arrogance is a solidly social concept. Arrogant boasting, or self-promotion, that transcends the 'natural' order now became the major preoccupation of the moral theologians ensconced in the rank and status estate society.

The fundamental assumption behind Alan's thinking, that overt self-definition is an attempt to transcend differences of distinct typological order, is shared by Lotario of Segni's *De contemptu mundi*, an ascetic treatise written

16 N. M. Häring, ed., 'Alan of Lille, *De planctu Naturae*', *Studi Medievali*, 3rd s. 19,2 (1978), 798–879; Alan of Lille, *The Plaint of Nature*, trans. J. J. Sheridan (Toronto, 1980); O. Lottin, 'Le traité d'Alain de Lille sur les vertus, les vices, et les dons du Saint-Esprit', in *Psychologie et morale aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles*, 6 vols. (Gembloux, 1942–60), VI, 27–92, lines 220–9; Alan of Lille, *Summa de arte praedicatoria* chapter 10: 'De superbia', *PL* 210, 111A–198A (cols. 131C–133C). A major theological authority of the twelfth century, Hugh of St-Victor, remained within the monastic tradition; see his *Scala celi*, ed. R. Baron, in *Études sur Hugues de Saint-Victor* (Paris, 1963), pp. 234, 236; and his *De septem vitiis*, in ibid., p. 246.

17 *De planctu Naturae*, chapter 14 (Prose Seven), ed. Häring, pp. 859–64.

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before he became Innocent III. Strictly theological at first glance, this is in fact a work that offers more than just a pessimistic look at the human condition. It bears the imprint of a lawyer for whom moral theology connected his very material and political world to the standard-setting deity. Lotario adopted closely Gregory's scheme in which pride and arrogance fuse in the sweeping metaphysics of power, but also he joined Alan of Lille in making a distinction between the person and the dignity vested in him. Against the background of divine power, humanity's dignity and bravery mean nothing, Lotario thundered. God is one and he is the Lord. Those who style themselves 'lords' and dream of empires are arrogant men who should properly be called ministers and should serve God and men rather than identify themselves with external honors. The ring of *Venerabilem* is unmistakable here.[18] The thrust of Lotario's conceptualization of arrogance is political, but his arrogance stripped men of their social skin to expose the futility of claims attempting to bridge realms of reality differing in kind. A forcefully argued distinction between person and role underpins his thinking. Roles change, but the 'natural' essence of humanity and, by extension that of its socially defined specimens remains immutable. Fusing role and person engenders arrogance, before God and society. For the sake of morality, Lotario admonished, we should keep them separate.

The political implications of such claims were all that mattered for many early to mid-thirteenth-century academic moralists. William of Auxerre, a teacher at Paris and Aristotelian expert, counted arrogance as the first species of pride, but added that the arrogant estimate themselves superior to others. His fourth dimension of pride, defined as the domain of arrogance, was no less social and relational, implying mounting preoccupation with the restructuring of the social space. Arrogance and contempt go together, he stated, for the proud highly appreciate and judge themselves, but appreciate others little or not at all. The ones who estimate themselves superior are clearly arrogant.[19] John of La Rochelle, William's colleague and one of the few theologians who tried to reorganize the unwieldy mass of moralizing thought on new principles, shared William's position. Taking into account Gregory and St Bernard in the *Summa vitiorum* he composed by 1235, the definition in which he summarized his own concept is unequivocal: arrogance is to consider oneself superior to others.[20] Fully in this vein is the uncharacteristically short injunction of Thomas

18 See Lotario dei Segni (Pope Innocent III), *De miseria condicionis humane*, part 2, chs. 30–6, ed. R. E. Lewis (Athens, GA, 1978), pp. 183–94. For the *Venerabilem*, which distilled Innocent III's position on the relations between the papacy and the empire, see his *Registrum*, 62, *PL* 216, 1065A–1067D.

19 *Magistri Guillelmi Altissiodorensis Summa aurea*, book 12, art. 4, qu. 1 and 4, ed. J. Ribaillier, 7 vols. (Paris and Grottaferrata, 1980–7), II.1, 389–99.

20 John of La Rochelle (Joannes de Rupella), *Summa vitiorum*, in Cambridge, Pembroke College MS 21, fols. 93v–95r. On John, see J. Bougerol, 'Jean de La Rochelle: les oeuvres et les manuscrits', *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 87 (1994), 205–15; I. Bejczy, 'John of La Rochelle and William Peraldus on the Virtues and Vices', *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 97 (2004), 99–110; and S. Vecchio, 'The Seven

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Aquinas: 'The sixth degree of humility is to think oneself viler than all, to which is opposed arrogance, whereby a man sets himself above others'.[21] Distilling Bernard's forceful rebuke into this one sentence, Aquinas conceived of arrogance as a political device rearranging society's hierarchy. Aquinas's succinct approach is symptomatic in another way. After him, continental academic theology focused largely on virtue and tended to see the discussion of sin through the lens of virtue ethics. The reduction of arrogance to an exclusively political phenomenon fitted nicely into that new framework of academic inquiry.[22]

Alan of Lille's strong emphasis on the social linkages of moral thought was also shared by a number of his near-contemporaries who rode the tide of pastoral care that would produce the Fourth Lateran Council's injunctions on priests and laity. In its wake, moral thinkers became more and more anxious about the effects that individual self-promotion through personal effort had on the collective order of the day. Lack was no longer the central issue, nor was it important to dwell on the premises that led one to this lack. One writer who was clearly preoccupied with social questions was the author of a Middle English dialogue, *Vices and Virtues*.[23] He employed two vernacular terms, *modinesse* and *prud*. The latter is in the Gregorian mould, its meaning shading into arrogance as he reproaches someone who, puffed up by knowledge and understanding, riches, honors or high family, 'thinks well of himself and despises others'.[24] No good thing will come from you, the author warns, 'unless you have God's and all men's love'.[25] The return to morals would restore social bonds loosened by mobility. Operating within the same paradigm of social interpretation is Robert of Flamborough's *Liber poenitentialis* (*c*. 1208–13), a lean and elegant catechetical treatise that marries academic discourse and pastoral care and introduces canon law into the practical morality of penance. Inspired by Conrad of Hirsau and Alan of Lille, Robert's pride is a concept applicable

Deadly Sins between Pastoral Care and Scholastic Theology: The *Summa de vitiis* by John of Rupella', trans. H. Took, in *Garden of Evil*, pp. 104–27.

21 See Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae*, 2a 2ae, q. 162, art. 4, ad 4, ed. and trans. T. Gilby, in *Summa theologiae*, 61 vols. [Blackfriars] (New York, 1964–81), XLIV, 128–32.

22 A typical rendering would be that of the *Aureum de peccatis capitalibus et eorum speciebus opusculum* 2 (Paris, 1515 [?]), sig. iiii(v): 'Arrogantia est qua quis multus se existimans ceteros quos infra se videt despicit.' Denis the Carthusian used an Aquinas-style reduction of St Bernard in his largely unoriginal compilation *Summa de vitiis*, which summed up the trend: *D. Dionysii Cartusiani opera omnia in unum corpus digesta*, 42 vols. (Tournai, 1896–1935), XXXIX, 68.

23 *Vices and Virtues, being a Soul's Confession of its Sins with Reason's Description of the Virtues: A Middle English Dialogue of about 1200 A.D.*, Part I: *Text and Translation*, ed. F. Holthausen, EETS OS 89 (London, 1888–1921; reprint 1967), especially pp. 4–7, 64–5. An earlier, mid-twelfth-century homiletic collection, *Concerning Eight Vices and Twelve Abuses*, translates 'superbia' as 'modinesse', mentions that it is a great sin, but provides no elucidation; see *Old English Homilies and Homiletic Treatises . . . of the 12th and 13th Centuries*, ed. R. Morris, EETS OS 29 and 34 (London, 1868), pp. 100–18.

24 *Vices and Virtues* 65: 'he latt wel of him seluen, and forhoweð oðre.'

25 Ibid.: 'Bute ðu habbe godes luue and alre manne.'

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to both the transcendental and the secular domain. Pride is extolling oneself above others, he postulated, and the direct root of vainglory. The latter comprises a host of subdivisions, from hypocrisy to instability of the will. Modestly tucked in between presumption and garrulity is arrogance. Troubled, perhaps, by the overlapping of meanings, Robert inserted explanations for two of his terms, insolence and arrogance. Arrogance, he asserted, is when a man ascribes everything to himself.[26] A reduction of the Gregorian paradigm, the context of Robert's definition is open-ended. It is up to the confessor to apply it to the person who faces the deity or the society, but it squares well with the concern with mobility and the tearing up of communal bonds that unrestrained individualism produced.

By the middle of the thirteenth century, the concern with social context was strong enough to be embraced by the two most influential medieval writers of moral theology, whose impact was to transcend the medieval period and go well into the seventeenth century. The first is the all-time celebrity of the preaching thesaurus genre, William Peraldus. His *Summa de vitiis* (1236) and *Summa de vitiis et virtutibus* (1250) became the preferred manuals of the self-respecting theologian who cared about the vices. A gifted compiler and an organizational genius, Peraldus marshaled the full weight of earlier traditions in a series of well-chosen quotations which distilled no new conceptual essence but covered the ground comprehensively. *Superbia* is still the umbrella concept for him, but it is neatly divided into three species: presumption, arrogance and *appetitus excellentiae*. While he did note the desire to place oneself above others, Peraldus looked back to Conrad and Bernard and their epistemological construction of vice: his arrogance is the false arrogation of qualities one did not have. To him the origins of arrogance – it was the weightier incarnation of pride – were in ignorance. The proud and arrogant man was *indoctus*, *superbia* equaling *stultitia*.[27] Arrogance is lack of knowledge which, instead of being humbly recognized and promptly amended, is falsely, that is, immorally, misrepresented as a desirable quality. In spite of abundant evocations of the deity, it was not the relation to God that defined arrogance. Unable to integrate his distinct authorities, Peraldus offered to the reader Bernard's injunctions and no social analysis to shore up his definition of arrogance. After all, the *Summae* were sourcebooks for the perplexed preacher, offering apposite definitions, a wealth of supporting material and guidelines for organization to fit every priest's circumstances.

There were moralists, however, for whom a true compendium of Christian thought needed to be more analytical and more openly socially attuned. By the 1260s an unknown writer from northeastern France scrutinized his society

26 Robert of Flamborough, *Liber poenitentialis: A Critical Edition with Introduction and Notes*, ed. J. J. Francis Firth, Studies and Texts 18 (Toronto, 1971; reprint 2005), p. 180.

27 William Peraldus, *Summa de vitiis* part 2, ch. 8, sig. xliv–xlv; part 3, ch. 35; ch. 36, sig, lxiii; ch. 39. I would like to thank Richard Newhauser for providing me with the full text of Peraldus's references to arrogance and pride. I have used Guilielmus Peraldus, *Summae virtutum ac vitiorum* (Antwerp, 1588).

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to compose a *Miroir du monde*.[28] His work was taken up by the Dominican friar Laurent to provide the first, clearest, fullest and most socially relevant vernacular compendium of Christianity that the medieval world produced, the *Somme le roi* (1279).[29] The part of the *Somme* of interest for this inquiry went well beyond anything previously conceived. Laurent's scholastic mind built an integrated model of pride's complex palette of subdivisions, beginning with *desloiaute* and ending with *mauvaise paour*. Arrogance claims the close-to-the-root third position, under the vernacular term *sourquyderie*. It is defined as the propensity of a man to think that he is more worthy than others, knows more than he does, or can achieve more than he is able to achieve. Most remarkable, however, is the dissection of arrogance into separate categories and concepts. Six twigs branch out from arrogance: singularity, prodigality, false strife (frivolous legal accusations), boasting, scorn and rebellion (expressed in discarding

28 The date is inferred in *The Mirroure of the Worlde: A Middle English Translation of Le miroir du monde*, ed. R. A. Raymo and E. Whitaker, with R. E. Sternglantz (Toronto, 2003), p. 7, but a comprehensive evaluation of the manuscript tradition is wanting.

29 On Laurent, see L. M. Carruthers, 'Lorens of Orléans and *The Somme le roi* or *The Book of Vices and Virtues*', *Vox Benedictina: A Journal of Translations from Monastic Sources* 5,2–3 (1988), 190–200. For the text of the *Somme* see the recent critical edition, *Frère Laurent, La Somme le roi*, ed. E. Brayer and A.-F. Labie-Leurquin, Société des anciens textes français (Paris-Abbeville, 2008). For a discussion and an earlier list of its manuscripts see also *The Book of Vices and Virtues: A Fourteenth-Century English Translation of the Somme le roi of Lorens d'Orléans*, ed. W. Nelson Francis, EETS OS 217 (London, 1942), pp. i–xxvi; and E. V. Kosmer, 'A Study of the Style and Iconography of a Thirteenth-Century *Somme le roi* (British Museum Ms Add. 54180) with a Consideration of Other Illustrated *Somme* Manuscripts of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Centuries' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1973), Part II. On the English translations, see L. M. Carruthers, *La Somme le roi et ses traductions anglaises: étude compareé*, Publications de l'Association des médiévistes anglicistes de l'enseignement supérieur 12 (Paris, 1986). The reconstruction of the text offered by W. F. Nelson, *The Book of Vices and Virtues*, and E. Brayer, 'Contenu, structure, et combinaisons du *Miroir du monde* et de la *Somme le roi*', *Romania* 74 (1958), 1–38, 433–70, are still authoritative. Newer discussions on related texts do not challenge Nelson's reconstruction; see for example *Myrour to Lewde Men and Wymen: A Prose Version of the Speculum vitae, edited from BL MS Harley 45*, ed. V. Nelson, Middle English texts 14 (Heidelberg, 1981); *Book for a Simple and Devout Woman: A Late English Adaptation of Peraldus' Summa de vitiis et virtutibus and Friar Laurent's Somme le roi, edited from BL Mss Harley 6571 and Additional 30944*, ed. F. N. M. Diekstra (Groningen, 1998). See also *The Mirroure of the Worlde*, ed. Raymo and Whitaker, pp. 6–8, 98–101, for *overhoope*, as the *Mirroure* calls arrogance, and its branches according to the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century combined *Somme/Miroir* French tradition. One of the *Somme's* prototypes, the 'Old Mirror' in Nelson's reconstruction, renders arrogance with *forcuidance*, a term which the author of a Swiss-French version combining the *Miroir* with the *Somme* explains as *que nus appelens arroyance ou presumtion*; see its faulty but unique edition in *Le mireour du monde: manuscrit du XIVe siècle découvert dans les archives de la commune de La Sarra, et reproduit avec des notes*, ed. F. Chavannes, Mémoires et documents publiés par la Société d'histoire de la Suisse romande, 1st s. 4 (Lausanne, 1845), pp. 28 ff.

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other men's advice).[30] Each is carefully defined. The general trend is to condemn active and discrete selves, individual agency and self-promotion, authoritarian leadership and the economy of gift and honor exchange. The *Somme* endorses passivity of the individual, conformity, communality, thrift, the primacy of the collective, definition of the self by others, and the assertion of objective or collective norms over standards set by an individual will. In short, in its concept of arrogance it marries aristocratic leadership to bourgeois ethos, applying a moral grid for including and excluding features of both as needed.

The *Somme*'s arrogance is thus the moral playground of the competition for social agency, that is, the legitimate and acknowledged right to define the principles of structuring and organizing society, from which all action springs. Laurent assumes the existence of a complex but commonly accepted value system that anchors one's social position. The issue is who will determine where one fits on the grid, the individual or the group. Laurent's arrogant people do not necessarily lack what it takes to fill the position they desire. The problem is that they dare to stake claims, mislead and manipulate others, and misrepresent themselves in order to elicit support for their claims. The position of the *Somme* is that the collective should be so hegemonic that even the initiation of a request that the group and/or society validate a personal claim is seen as eroding the group's absolute sovereignty over agency.

Why such a conceptualization of arrogance? In the social context of late thirteenth-century France, the treatise transmutes into moral terms the anxiety over increasing social and political mobility and the erosion of status society. As Laurent puts it, outrageous spending could buy one the image of liberality and courteousness, distinct aristocratic values now within reach of the wealthy bourgeoisie. Hirelings could extol the nobility of the arrogant when the latter got tired of singing their own praises. Court litigation was more often an instrument to make and break fortunes and status than to obtain justice. Small wonder that those who picked quarrels when they knew they were in the wrong were arrogant. So were those who scorned their fellows who lived 'aright' and tore their communities apart with the unrestrained individualism of the early bourgeois who aspired to noble status. Nobles did not need flatterers to extol their nobility; the eager third-estate upstarts did. The foundation stone of status society, descent, was boasted about alongside those vehicles of mobility, wit, works, prowess and personal ability. Anxiety over the threatened social order incurred the moral stigma appearing in the *Somme* next to the other branches of pride – untruth, contempt and ambition – to testify to

30 I have used the copy of the *Somme* in Cambridge, St John's College MS S.30 (early fourteenth century). A description of the manuscript is found in M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of St John's College Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1913), no. 256. The discussion of arrogance begins on fol. 15v, new pagination. The later (combined) *Somme/Miroir* tradition reduced the branches of arrogance to four; the English translator mistook *arrogans* for a fifth species. See the text in *Mirroure of the Worlde*, ed. Raymo and Whitaker, p. 99.

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a shaky social hierarchy in which traditional bonds were weakened. Laurent's genius was that he cast the morals of the *Somme* as socio-political ones, in a very broad sense. Unlike Alan of Lille, who displays apprehension but passes no judgment, Laurent saw clearly the currents of change engulfing his society and summed them up brilliantly as a form of moral malaise.

The social tensions that inspired authors from Alan of Lille to Friar Laurent were rife in thirteenth-century France, but were less pronounced elsewhere.[31] Even so, the trend so perceptively caught by the *Somme* and the later combined *Somme/Miroir* tradition seeped through various national traditions beginning in the early decades of the fourteenth century and issued forth in a massive reception after the 1350s. The concept of arrogance informing these works percolated from treatise to treatise and survived well into the age of print and the Reformation.

England, where the theology of the vices became something of a popular sport, showcases the situation.[32] As William of Shoreham put it in the 1320s, since no one is free of pride, who has not been blinded by arrogance (*surquydery*)?[33] And while the practicalities of pastoral instruction necessitated terminological simplification or the use of 'umbrella concepts' such as pride and presumption, arrogance gradually acquired an independent status in the English vernacular tradition. The post-1215 marriage of confessional theology with its more academic, speculative and casuistic cousins brought the term back, first in manuals for priestly education, and then, by the 1260s or so, in

31 See for example Henry of Rimini's treatise on the vices, written after the closing of the Venetian Grand Council in 1297. The treatise is a wonderful mirror of contemporary social mores and failures, but contains neither the term nor the concept of arrogance. See H. Siddons, 'The *Tractatus de septem vitiis capitalibus* by Henry of Rimini, O.P.', *Medioevo* 25 (1999–2000), 313–440.

32 High and late medieval English local traditions were among the few to follow the lead of Latin and Old French usage and develop a specific vernacular term to articulate the concept of arrogance. Without such a linguistic device, the aim of this study would be unattainable. Italian, Spanish, Catalan and German vernacular traditions were slow in distilling a concept of arrogance as distinct from pride. The Italian translations of the *Somme le roi* use *arrogantia* as a calque from Old French/Latin and although there were vernacular terms with a similar meaning, Leonardo Bruni preferred the loan translation. Both Italian and Spanish render the concept of arrogance with the term for pride. The German tradition, despite an early abundance of terms and concepts in the cluster of pride, retained them as referents to the Latin *superbia*, with indiscriminate use of *Hoffart*, *Übermuot* and *Hochmut*. By the middle of the fifteenth century, a Middle High German glossary of sins struggled with the German translation of many terms and completely gave up on arrogance, preferring a description instead: 'Arrogantia: der sich selber rümet'. See *Von den sieben Todsünden*, ed. F. J. Mone, in 'Literatur und Sprache', parts 1 and 5, *Anzeiger für Kunde der teutschen Vorzeit* 8 (1839), 58–9 (on pride) and 101–2 (on arrogance, boasting, disobedience, presumption, etc.). See Newhauser, *Treatise*, p. 40. I would like to thank Dr Nigel Harris for confirming my conclusions about the German tradition.

33 *The Poems of William of Shoreham, AD 1320, Vicar of Chart-Sutton*, ed. M. Konrath, EETS ES 86 (London, 1902), p. 108.

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works on lay instruction. And as in France, the reasons were more social than academic. English theologians were increasingly reflecting on the threat to the estate order, the social benchmark of their moral schemes. A few examples will make the point clear. A short tract on the vices that circulated widely from the mid-thirteenth century contained the assertion that arrogance is 'qua quis sibi ascribit quod non habet; vel esse quod non est' ('to ascribe to oneself what one does not have; or [claim] to be what one is not').[34] Witty preachers like Master Odo of Cheriton peppered their sermons with similar succinct evocations of arrogance. Genre conventions conditioned references to context, but the issues of social lack and mobility, documented with the 'quod non habet' ('what one does not have') formula, are clearly there.[35] This theme is not, by itself, a clear indication that official moral theology sought to delegitimize social identity derived from outside the rank and status establishment. Extrapolated from its milieu, 'quod non habet' could also indicate the rise of an objective standard irrespective of social order. The contexts in which the 'quod non habet' formula thrived, however, belie such an assumption. The farthest one can go is to state that, just as in Friar Laurent's composite scholastic portrait of arrogance, the social underlining of moral theology bifurcated, with one foot resting on the solid estate soil while the other tested the springier and shifting grounds of nascent class society.

Two closely related post-1215 Latin works provide parameters for the interpretation of the formula even as they testify to the semantic instability of the concept: Archbishop Edmund of Abingdon's *Speculum ecclesiae*, known also as *Speculum sancti Edmundi* (1215–1220s), and his pupil Robert Grosseteste's *Templum Dei* (1220s or early 1230s). The sin section of both works succinctly defines pride as 'amor propriae excellentiae' ('love of one's superiority/merit'), and proceeds to list seven of its species.[36] Arrogance comes fifth, and

34 *Summa vitiorum*, Cambridge, Jesus College MS Q. B. 3 (20), fol. 57r, end of thirteenth century, and, under the title *Summa de vitiis abbreviata*, Cambridge, University Library MS Ff.1.17, fols. 23r–24r, second half of the thirteenth century. Richard Newhauser, who has partially edited the treatise, established its dependence on Peraldus; see his chapter 'The Parson's Tale', in *Sources and Analogues of The Canterbury Tales*, ed. R. M. Correale with M. Hamel, 2 vols., Chaucer Studies 28 and 35 (Cambridge, 2002; reprint, 2003), I, 529–613. The treatise begins its list of *species superbiae* with *elatio*, with arrogance coming second. Information about these works and other copies of the *Summa*, as edited by Newhauser, was distributed in the NEH seminar on the sins in August 2006, and discussed by Siegfried Wenzel. I would like to express my gratitude to Profs. Newhauser and Wenzel for sharing their extensive knowledge. A shorter version of the section on the sins in the *Summa* was printed in the early 1500s as *Speculum Xristianorum multa bona continens; Primo*, in a miscellaneous collection bound in a volume with Johannes Nider's *Confessionale* and other treatises (s. l., s. d.), fol. xlvi(v), under the rubric 'sequuntur conditiones superbiae'.

35 Edited in *Les fabulistes latins depuis le siècle d'Auguste jusqu'à la fin du Moyen Age*, ed. L. Hervieux, 2nd edn, 5 vols. (Paris, 1893–9; reprint New York, 1978), IV, 409, no. ix (old xlvi): 'De vana gloria, arrogantia, et superbia.'

36 Robert Grosseteste, *Templum Dei*, ed. J. Goering and F. A. C. Mantello, Toronto Medieval Latin Texts 14 (Toronto, 1984). The *Speculum* circulated in Anglo-Norman, Middle

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is explained as the sin of those who compare their bad qualities and deeds to others' deficiencies in such a way that their negative qualities appear minimal.[37] This idiosyncratic approach was deemed appropriate for the needs of pastoral work by Bishop Peter Quinel (or Quivel) of Exeter, and under the name *Summula* was attached to his Synodal Statutes of April 1287.[38] The shift in the definition was toward a very technical, 'penitential' meaning of claiming innocence through misrepresentation; still, arrogance is a relational phenomenon.[39] The implicit meaning of the injunction is properly theological: the comparison led to claiming innocence that the sinner did not have. The authors of the tradition evidently thought it transparent and did not elaborate. In social terms, however, the injunction makes no less sense. It is a blanket prohibition on comparison. If one was allowed to compare one's deeds to those of another and make conclusions about one's worth, nothing prevented the extension of comparison across estate divisions, thus collapsing the entire social order. Better to delegitimize comparison on principle. A late thirteenth-century collection of texts for confessors' use, probably from the diocese of Lincoln, illustrates the fusion of this tradition with Alan of Lille's reduction of the Gregorian scheme. One of the tracts carries on the *Speculum ecclesiae*/*Templum Dei* tradition, three repeat Alan of Lille's formula, and one invokes the political affiliation, the definition of arrogance as a claim of superiority above others.[40] 'Do not compare yourself to others' went well with 'do not pretend to be what you're not and have what you have not'. In the same vein, William of Pagula's influential confessional manual for priests, *Oculus sacerdotis* (1320s),

English and Latin; see *Yorkshire Writers: Richard Rolle of Hampole, an English Father of the Church, and his Followers*, ed. C. Horstmann, 2 vols., Library of Early English Writers 1 and 2 (London, 1895–6), II, 240–61; *Religious Pieces in Prose and Verse*, ed. G. G. Perry, 3rd edn, EETS OS 26 (London, 1914), pp. 16–50 (p. 24). On the date of the *Speculum*'s composition, which predates the estimate for *Templum Dei*, see *Speculum religiosum and Speculum ecclesiae*, ed. H. P. Forshaw, Auctores Britannici Medii Aevi 3 (London, 1973), pp. 16, 49–50, for the Latin text on *superbia* and *arrogantia*.

37 *Templum Dei* 9.2–5, ed. Goering and Mantello, p. 47, on the seven deadly sins and *superbia*.

38 *Councils and Synods with Other Documents Relating to the English Church*, vol. II, ed. F. M. Powicke and C. R. Cheney, 2 parts (Oxford, 1964), II.2, 1059–65. By contrast, the tract on the seven deadly sins attached to Bishop Alexander of Stavensby's *Statutes* for the diocese of Coventry, 1224–37, has a large section on *superbia* fully in the Gregorian tradition without mentioning arrogance, ibid., II.1, 215–16.

39 Grosseteste's scholastic works define arrogance technically as falsely ascribing praise to oneself or, in the spirit of Gregory, attributing to oneself what one does not have. See S. Wenzel, 'Robert Grosseteste's Treatise on Confession *Deus est*', *Franciscan Studies* 20 (1970), 218–93 (pp. 265–6); another of his treatises only lists arrogance without discussion; see J. Goering and F. A. C. Mantello, 'The *Perambulavit Judas* (*Speculum confessionis*) attributed to Robert Grosseteste', *Revue bénédictine* 96 (1986), 125–68 (p. 158).

40 Cambridge, Emmanuel College MS 1.4.4; tracts on vices begin at 37r, 40r–v, 105r, 129v and 135r. For a description of the manuscript see Newhauser, *Treatise*, pp. 167–8.

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defined the second species of pride as *iactantia sive arrogantia* (following Alan's collapsing of the terms) and explained it with a mixture of influences from the *Speculum ecclesiae*/*Templum Dei* tradition and Gregory's scheme as first ascribing one's failures to others but crediting oneself with the good of others, and then added a short version of the Gregorian four dimensions of pride.[41] He therefore stressed lack, or social inadequacy, rather than the metaphysical link with the deity.[42]

In general, the first half of the thirteenth century saw arrogance as the signifier of the forces that undermined the 'naturalness' of the estate order based on rank, status and privilege. Shortly after the 1250s, that was no longer exclusively the case. An important new shift reinforced a crucial twist to the now mainstream formula 'quod non habet/quod non est' ('what one does not have / is not'). The Middle English rendition of an influential Anglo-Norman French treatise from *c.*1260, the *Manuel des pechiez*, attributed to a certain William of Wadington, used Peraldus as a guiding authority, but the treatment of pride and arrogance is simpler. It is a sin and a great folly, Wadington intimates, which the masters of theology call 'arrogance', to boast of the Lord's gifts as if you had them of yourself – especially if you did not have them at all.[43] Robert Mannyng of Brunne, who turned Wadington's *Manuel* into Middle English in 1303, argued along similar lines: to boast and brag about something one never had is pride and arrogance. More importantly, however, his arrogance is any attempt to make oneself appear worthier than one is, and claim things beyond one's knowledge.[44] Wadington registered the outward expression within a metaphysical context. Mannyng limited himself to pointing out the motivation, focusing entirely on the discrepancy between the claim, on the one hand, and performance and achievement, on the other. The tradition was influential enough a century later for Chaucer to borrow from it for his scheme of the sins in the *Parson's Tale*. His branches of pride are in the *Speculum ecclesiae*/*Templum*

41 William of Pagula, *Oculus sacerdotis*, in Cambridge, University Library MS Gg.1.13, fol. 84r (late fourteenth century). Interestingly, when John de Burgh, chancellor of the University of Cambridge and a prominent theologian dedicated to parish priests' instruction, updated William's treatise in 1380–5 he excised the reference to arrogance in the interrogation of the confessing person but kept the reference to *iactantia*. See John de Burgh, *Pupilla oculi* (Paris, 1517), ch. viii, no pagination. The shift is symptomatic.

42 The same text is printed in *Speculum spiritualium* (Paris, 1510), ii(r), iiii(v–r).

43 Published in *Robert of Brunne's 'Handlyng Synne', A.D. 1303, with Those Parts of the Anglo-French Treatise on which it was Founded, William of Wadington's 'Manuel des pechiez'*, re-ed. F. J. Furnival, 2 vols., EETS OS 119, 123 (London, 1901–3; reprint Millwood, 1978), I, 95, 99, and discussed in detail by E. J. Arnould, *Le manuel des péchés: étude de littérature religieuse anglo-normande (XIIIme siècle)* (Paris, 1940). The moral-penitential doctrine of the *Manuel* has been traced by F. Kemmler to twelfth-century thought in *'Exempla' in Context: A Historical and Critical Study of Robert Mannyng of Brunne's 'Handlyng Synne'*, Studies and Texts in English 6 (Tübingen, 1984), pp. 28 ff.

44 Robert Mannyng, *Handlyng Synne*, lines 3117–25, ed. I. Sullens, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies 14 (Binghamton, 1983), p. 80.

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Dei tradition, but the definition of arrogance derives from a version of the above-mentioned *Summa*, stressing social lack as its principal feature.[45] The emphasis is on social context and on the discrepancy between self, role and person that arrogance highlights. The difference from the earlier tradition of 'quod non habet' reinforced with the ban on comparison might appear superficial. But it is not: the distinction is in kind, and indicates an important new departure. To claim what one does not have is not the same as the increasing stress on defining arrogance on the logic of one's performance not measuring up to one's claim. The first injunction fits a society in which normative thought has an absolute hegemony to define what qualifies as a legitimate given, that is, an estate and status society. The second injunction leaves open the criterion to which the arrogant did not measure up. The stress is on process. It allows for a variety of social identity-defining characteristics that puts a premium on performance and deed matching claim – no matter what that claim is. This is the approach of a class-based society. The renewed stress on performance at the turn of the thirteenth century is not coincidental. The extant Middle English rendition of the *Speculum religiosorum*, *The Myrrour of Seynt Edmonde* (around the 1350s), dispenses with the technicalities of the Latin version, makes arrogance (*surquedry*) the top branch of pride, and defines it, in the first place, as 'to vndirtake thing ouer his powere, or wenys to be mare wyse þan he es, or better þan he es . . .'.[46] A class-based society, in the sense of a society centered on economic competition, was at the threshold of legitimacy and moral theologians of all career fields took notice.

They also noted that this socio-political novelty was a radical re-arrangement of the providential order of the universe, and might need some containment. John Gower's *Mirour de l'omme* is a case in point.[47] Gower's Arrogance, a plot character in her own right, is a strongly political phenomenon bearing on the issues of agency and supremacy. The arrogant man desires to have no equal in this life, Gower stresses. Insulated from social influences, by enticement he leads other people to ruin. Because of Presumption, which Gower identifies as a companion to Arrogance, the arrogant person thinks he is born free and owes God no service. In place of God the arrogant person reifies des-

45 Geoffrey Chaucer, 'The Parson's Tale' (X, 389–99) for *superbia* and arrogance, in *The Riverside Chaucer*, ed. L. D. Benson *et al.*, 3rd edn (New York, 1987), pp. 299–302. For Chaucer's sources for the vices, see Newhauser, 'The Parson's Tale', pp. 530–41, 568–601; S. Wenzel, 'The Source of Chaucer's Seven Deadly Sins', *Traditio* 27 (1974), 351–78. I would argue that Chaucer's definition of arrogance is that of the *summa* mentioned above, n. 34.

46 *Religious Pieces in Prose and Verse*, ed. Perry, p. 24.

47 John Gower, *Mirour de l'omme (The Mirror of Mankind)*, trans. W. B. Nelson, revised by N. Wilson Van Baak (East Lansing, 1992), pp. 23–4, 158–62; the French text is in *The Complete Works of John Gower*, ed. G. C. Macaulay, 4 vols. (Oxford, 1899–1902), I. Gower uses the metaphysical frame to illustrate the disastrous consequences of arrogance in the story of the knight Capaneus in his *Confessio Amantis* (1.1980–2020), which is more on the entertaining side of moralization than the *Mirour*; see Macaulay, *The Complete Works* II, 89–90.

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tiny and believes she is piling bounties upon him to acknowledge his virtues, in which he surpasses all men. Gower's Arrogance is subversive on all levels, a direct product of the uncertainty, drive for self-definition, impermanence and mobility which mark the ascendancy of the economically competitive social order of his age. The remedies Gower proposes are not the pious injunctions of the moral theologians. Arrogance's nemesis, Discretion, comes in the company of three servants, Order (know your place in the God-ordained world), Good Conduct (maintain the social conventions that minimize conflict and keep society hierarchically compartmentalized) and Honor (the beauty within). The tensions generated by the social persona molded by the great turbulences of later medieval England will be neutralized primarily through external containment of the troublemaker. Staking his hopes on Discretion as Arrogance's mighty opponent, Gower hopes for inner moral transformation as well. Until that happens, however, if it happens at all, the forceful servants of Discretion have a free hand.

This secularized conceptualization of arrogance under the pressures of social mobility and the changing patterns of power distribution culminated in the fifteenth century. Throughout the earlier period, arrogance was a grave and mortal sin that required restitution because it came to identify phenomena that undermined the existing social and political order. By its end a new attitude set in. It led to a shift in the perception of arrogance that would carry it out of the domain of *ethica sacra*. There were sound reasons for the change. By the early 1400s social mobility became the norm. Legitimate power emanated from a multiplicity of sources and was licitly delegated, appropriated and co-opted. A new category, civility, began to assert itself as the condition of normative social interaction. Accordingly, having lost its footing in status society, arrogance lost its moral ontology as well. It was now associated with the package rather than the content, the medium rather than the message. Academic theology, casuistic and dogmatic, began to harbor doubts about the gravity of the condition produced by arrogance already by the time its elaboration by conservative socially minded practitioners was in full swing. The re-conceptualization went along two lines: arrogance as the estimate of a frail mind and arrogance as performance, an aspect of conduct rather than an ontological trait.

Along the first of these lines, Alexander of Hales's symptomatic and influential *Summa universae theologiae* (begun around 1231, left unfinished, and elaborated on by his followers) accepted the patristic injunction, but reformulated arrogance as a sin of personal judgment, that is, pride in self-estimation.[48] This relegated arrogance to the level of remissible sins, for it now emanated from human frailty and not from lack, ontological malice or social relatedness. The proposition was frequently used in earlier traditions as an illustration, but had not been accepted as defining the moral core of the concept. Arrogance as error in self-estimation was a significantly lighter problem. By the middle of the

48 Alexander of Hales, *Summa theologica* part 2, book 2, ed. PP. Collegii s. Bonaventurae, 4 vols. (Quaracchi, 1924–48), III, 509.

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fifteenth century that identification was pushed to the front of the list of arrogance's features built on Gregory's formula in practical aids for the confessor, such as Angelo Carletti's widely popular dictionary of moral theology. Beside Gregory, Carletti invoked Jerome's reference to the 'shameless arrogance of the ignoramuses', but still counted arrogance among the mortal sins.[49]

Along the second avenue, performance, a strong trend emerged that relegated arrogance exclusively to the domain of rhetoric and manners, elaborating on the old link between arrogance, boasting and other external signs of pride.[50] Social, political and cultural developments converged to vacuum off the moral core of arrogance. What was left was a combination of empty rhetoric and bad manners rather than a mortal sin. An Oxford theologian, Balliol College's Alexander Carpenter, whose scholastic *Summa seu destructorium vitiorum* was completed in 1429, captured the spirit of the time in an amusing verbal image. Arrogance was a substantial phenomenon for him, the second category of pride according to the Gregorian formula, marking those who believed that their 'gifts' were given from above but ascribed them to their own merits rather than to the freely bestowed divine grace. '*Arrogare*', he clarified the Latin root, 'is to ascribe or delegate something.' In that sense arrogance was an interior elation of the heart that falsely ascribed virtues to itself in order to obtain the approval, admiration and praise of others. Citing his late fourteenth-century fellow Oxonian Robert Holcot for an elaboration, Carpenter then compared the arrogant ones to 'baboons', the grotesque Gothic creatures sculpted or painted in medieval buildings. Embracing the walls, their wearied faces and forceful gestures suggested enormous fatigue as if they, with onerous travail, supported the entire structure. In fact, the buildings would probably be stronger if the idols were just taken off their walls. The 'baboons' were like persons who had lost their mind. They would stand at the porch but would not come in to sit, drink and eat. Asked why, they would respond that they supported the skies, for were they to budge an inch,

49 Angelo Carletti (Angelus de Clavasio), *Summa angelica de casibus conscientiae* (Caen, 1517), pp. xvi, cccxxxvii. Carletti's dictionary went through thirty editions by 1520.

50 Such is the meaning of arrogance in Girolamo Savonarola's popular confessional; see *Confessionale pro instructione confessorum Hieronimi Savonarole de Ferraria ordinis predicatorum* (Venice, 1507), p. 71. The trend is visible both in works designed to help confessors detect and eradicate the sin and in manuals for penitents who had to confess it. Among the works of the prolific but otherwise enigmatic early sixteenth-century English translator, Andrew Chertsey, is a lengthy translation of a French confessional compilation, commissioned by the publisher Wynkin de Worde: *The Ordynary of Crysten Men* (bound in a miscellaneous volume, London, 1502), no pagination. In ch. 4, 'Superbia' characterizes claiming spiritual goods which a man does not have as arrogance, boasting and hypocrisy and claiming worldly goods as vainglory. Among the works of Godescalc Rosemond of Eindhoven, a Flemish theologian at the University of Louvain (1472–1526), is another popular confessional manual which enjoins that pride is to be confessed as arrogance, presumption and boasting; see *Confessionale sive libellus modum confitendi pulcherrime complectens Magistro Godescalco Rosemondi Eudoniensi* (Louvain, 1554), fols. 12v-14r (fol. 14r).

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the skies would collapse. Carpenter's sarcasm had a well-defined target. The arrogant ones he was referring to were those of his colleagues who, inflated with profane wisdom, pretended to be the ones who prop up the ecclesiastical establishment.[51] What mattered, however, is not the content but the tenor of Carpenter's concept of arrogance.

With allowance for distinct currents of moral thought, this was the trend that modernity embraced. With Carpenter's definition, arrogance exited the realm of moral theology and entered that of the comic and the clinical. It was no longer a grave offence against the established order of society. It was a diagnosis on a modality of individual existence deprived of content. All it stood for was individual pretense, empty rhetoric and performance. It did not need to be confronted, but ridiculed and dismissed instead. The building would be just as strong without the 'baboons'; the skies are likely to stay put as well.[52]

Were moral exegetes correct? Divesting itself of the responsibility to moralize arrogance in context, Christian normative ethics placed huge social and political realms outside its reach.[53] The forces that came to dominate these realms did not fail to capitalize on the resentment that the lingering streak of pre-modern morality still generates through the perception of arrogance. But who is the social agent that now benefits from this? Did individualism and the unbridled and discrete self manage to fool the collective to lighten the offense of arrogance? The ancient Greeks and the medieval moralists were able to make arrogance a minor vice, for they knew for a fact that the gods, or God, would correct it. The class order does not seem to be able to succeed without arrogance: but is modern Western society, with its sense of essential equality, capable of correcting the inroads of alternative value systems, ludicrous as they might sound?

51 Alexander Carpenter, *Summa seu destructorium vitiorum* (Venice, 1582), fol. 257v. For Carpenter, see G. R. Owst, *The Destructorium viciorum of Alexander Carpenter* (London, 1952). The treatise was very popular during the sixteenth century. I was not able to locate the reference to Holcot in Carpenter's citation either in Holcot's *Super Librum Sapientie Regis Solomonis Lectiones* (Basel, 1506), or in *Heptalogus omni laude superior morali doctore Robert Holcot anglico Florentissimi ordinis predicatorum De origine diffinitione et remediis peccatorum*, ed. J. de Monte (Paris, 1517), or in the *In Librum Sapientiae Regis Solomonis Praelectiones ccxiii* (Basel, 1586).

52 The conclusion echoes a current of the ancient Greek perception of arrogance; see J. M. Edmonds, *The Characters of Theophrastus, Newly Edited and Translated* (London, 1953), pp. 102–4.

53 The Protestant tradition's call to go 'back to the sources' resulted in a return to the metaphysical exegesis of the patristic age; see an example in John Trapp's article 'Arrogancy' in his *A commentary or exposition upon all the books of the New Testament . . .* (London, 1656), pp. 1084–93.

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CHAPTER THREE

Vices and Virtues: A Reassessment of Manuscript Stowe 34

Cate Gunn, Colne Engaine, England

The early Middle English dialogue *Vices and Virtues* is found uniquely in British Library MS Stowe 34, a manuscript dating from the first quarter of the thirteenth century. It has been little examined since it was edited in the nineteenth century, so the time is ripe to reassess *Vices and Virtues* as a contribution to the history of the vices in medieval literature and as a vernacular work of spiritual guidance. Here I offer an introduction to the text, demonstrating that *Vices and Virtues* examines capital vices from the Cassianic list and, in Morton Bloomfield's phrase, 'noncardinal' sins, and that it has much in common with homily collections such as those found in the Trinity and Lambeth manuscripts. Like them, it is a text constructed at a time of intense pastoral reform and intended for many different types of readers.

The early English *Vices and Virtues* is found uniquely in British Library MS Stowe 34 (previously Stowe 240), which dates from the first quarter of the thirteenth century.[1] Morton Bloomfield's description in his classic work on *The Seven Deadly Sins* is typical of the accounts we find of it: 'a prose dialogue of

1 The editor, F. Holthausen, claims it is 'A Middle-English dialogue of about 1200 A.D.', *Vices and Virtues, being a Soul's Confession of its Sins with Reason's Description of the Virtues: A Middle-English Dialogue of about 1200 A.D.*, ed. F. Holthausen, EETS OS 89 (London, 1888–1921; reprint 1967 in one volume with consecutive pagination), title page; the British Library catalogue suggests the first quarter of the thirteenth century: http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=6508&CollID=21&NStart=34 (accessed 23 May 2012); see also *Catalogue of the Stowe Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 2 vols. (London, 1895). F. L. Utley suggests a date of 1200–25, though it may have been composed from 1175, 'Dialogues, Debates and Catechisms', in *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English 1050–1500*, ed. A. E. Hartung, 10 vols. (New Haven, 1967–98), III, 669–745 (p. 702). M. B. Parkes lists Stowe 34 with other works as examples of 'manuscripts containing English texts, which were produced in the first half of the thirteenth century', *Scribes, Scripts and Readers: Studies in the Communication, Presentation and Dissemination of Medieval Texts* (London, 1991), p. 197, n. 42.

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about 1200 . . . a loose series of separate topics, united by a dialogue between Reason, the Soul, the Body, and several other allegorical personages'. He continues that it includes 'noncardinal sins' and 'probably began with the eight capital sins', of which we appear to have the last four of the Cassianic list, the beginning of the manuscript being missing.[2] He claims that, 'With one exception, the *Ancren Riwle*, none of the works written in England during the thirteenth century contains important treatments of the cardinal sins';[3] and he places *Vices and Virtues* in his chapter on the sins in English literature to 1200, asserting that 'Ælfric's sermons and the *Vices and Virtues* contain the only two outstanding examples of the employment of our concept in this early period in English'.[4] One should note, however, that the date of composition was probably earlier than 1200, the language of the manuscript being, according to one assessment, 'older than that current at the time when the copy was made'.[5] The language belongs to the south-east of England, maybe Essex.[6]

The manuscript is a hand-book: 8¾ inches by 6 (160 by 220 mm), with (now) just 49 folios. Although the writing looks untidy, it is clear and legible. The parchment is not of high quality: there are holes and the final folio is particularly misshapen. Old English letter forms are retained – yogh (ȝ), eth (ð), thorn (þ) and wyn (ƿ, for 'w'), with the Tironian sign ⁊ for 'and'. There is little decoration, just red, or blue and red, decorated letters at the beginning of sections, and Latin passages and words are underlined in red. All Latin quotations are translated into English. Titles are in red and look as though they were added later, being squeezed in at the end of the previous paragraph; and there are corrections and explanatory marginal references – including occasional modern English terms for Middle English words. For example, 'Of sibsumnesse' is inserted at the end of the line before the beginning of the section on Peace, and 'Of Peace' is written in a different hand in the margin.[7]

Vices and Virtues has been discussed by previous scholars because of its place within the continuity (or otherwise) of English prose;[8] it has also been treated as an example of the dialogue in medieval English literature.[9] For forty years, however, nothing has been published on *Vices and Virtues* apart from

2 Bloomfield, *Sins*, p. 119.
3 Ibid., p. 140.
4 Ibid., p. 121.
5 *Selections from Early Middle English 1130–1250*, ed. J. Hall, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1920), II, 443–4.
6 M. Laing, *Catalogue of Sources for a Linguistic Atlas of Early Medieval England* (Cambridge, 1993), p. 106, referring to the dialectologist, M. L. Samuels.
7 BL MS Stowe 34, fol. 32r, and see J. Roberts, *Guide to Scripts Used in English Writings up to 1500* (London, 2005), p. 137.
8 For example, E. Zeeman, 'Continuity in Middle English Prose', *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 55 (1956), 417–22.
9 E. Merrill, *The Dialogue in English Literature*, Yale Studies in English 42 (New York, 1911), p. 24. The lack of studies on *Vices and Virtues* is not because it is without interest, but may have something to do with the nineteenth-century edition in which it appears, which is lacking an introduction or satisfactory notes.

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paleographical studies,[10] and there has never been any examination of it as a work of spiritual guidance. Indeed, Jolliffe does not include *Vices and Virtues* in *A Check-List of Middle English Prose Writings of Spiritual Guidance*; justifying the works he does include, he comments, 'nothing relevant in English can be found before the fourteenth century, except the *Ancrene Riwle*'.[11] *Vices and Virtues* is not likely to compete with the justly 'celebrated'[12] *Ancrene Wisse* (as *Ancrene Riwle* is now usually known) as a text important for both English language and religious studies, but the time is ripe nevertheless to reassess *Vices and Virtues* as a contribution to the history of the vices in medieval literature and as a vernacular work of spiritual guidance. In what follows I offer an introduction to the text, exploring the concerns of the author and the possible context for the work. While it is not possible securely to identify the author or the intended readership, a close reading of the text suggests a range of possibilities and offers valuable insight into the use of the concepts of the sins and the virtues in pastoral literature.

In its language and pastoral concern, *Vices and Virtues* is comparable to the twelfth- to thirteenth-century homilies found in the Trinity and Lambeth manuscripts and edited as 'Old English Homilies';[13] as Bella Millett points out, the work that has been done on these homilies 'has focused mainly on their relationship to the Old English preaching tradition'.[14] Twelfth-century English material such as the homilies found in the Trinity and Lambeth manuscripts has 'all too often been marginalized' and seen as copying (and often corrupting) earlier material, including homilies by Ælfric and Wulfstan.[15] Siegfried Wenzel has recently highlighted the importance of Ælfric in the development

10 It is fifty years since Zeeman made her interesting comments on *Vices and Virtues* as a work of Middle English prose, 'Continuity in Middle English Prose'; S. Wenzel makes some passing references to *Vices and Virtues* in *Sloth*. T. Hahn mentions *Vices and Virtues* only briefly in 'Early Middle English', in *The Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature*, ed. D. Wallace (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 61–91 (p. 81), hereafter referred to as *CHMEL*. The index to this Cambridge History confuses the *Vices and Virtues* with the later *Book of Vices and Virtues*, a translation of Friar Lorens's *Somme le roi*. Judith M. Crawford re-edited *Vices and Virtues* as her thesis, University of Sheffield 1986, but I have not yet seen this.

11 P. S. Jolliffe, *A Check-List of Middle English Prose Writings of Spiritual Guidance*, Subsidia mediaevalia 2 (Toronto, 1974), p. 23.

12 L. Johnson and J. Wogan-Browne, 'National, World and Women's History: Writers and Readers of English in Post-Conquest England', in *CHMEL*, 92–121 (p. 110).

13 Sermons found in Cambridge, Trinity College MS B.14.52 and London, Lambeth Palace Library MS 487; both collections were edited as 'Old English Homilies' by R. Morris for the EETS in the nineteenth century.

14 B. Millett, 'The Pastoral Context of the Trinity and Lambeth Homilies', in *Essays in Manuscript Geography: Vernacular Manuscripts of the English West Midlands from the Conquest to the Sixteenth Century*, ed. W. Scase (Turnhout, 2007), p. 43. I would like to thank Bella Millett for her helpful comments on drafts of this paper.

15 E. Treharne and M. Swan, 'Introduction', in *Rewriting Old English in the Twelfth Century*, ed. M. Swan and E. M. Treharne, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 30 (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 1–10 (p. 7).

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of the preaching of the deadly sins: Ælfric used the capital vices – numbering eight in this case – in his sermons of the late tenth and early eleventh centuries; Wenzel points out the continuing influence of Ælfric's sermons, claiming, 'Ælfric's work continued into several vernacular homily collections of the twelfth century'.[16] *Vices and Virtues* is not a sermon, but Ælfric's sermons may well have influenced the construction of this text.

More importantly, Elaine Treharne and Mary Swan have recently argued that these twelfth-century writings 'have their own identities as the products of a particular set of political, ecclesiastical and literary circumstances',[17] which are arguably the same conditions that led to the production of *Vices and Virtues*. In the collection of essays edited by Treharne and Swan, Susan Irvine examines four manuscripts compiled in the twelfth century and associated with monastic centers; she points out that the variety in content and provenance of these manuscripts 'indicates a sustained and widespread interest in Old English texts throughout the twelfth century': Old English manuscripts were 'useful resources for preaching in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries'. The fact that these manuscripts contained texts in English is the key factor here: 'for monasteries like Worcester and Rochester, particularly given their connection with cathedral churches, it may have been vital to have material in English available to the priests who were to instruct the lay people'.[18] *Vices and Virtues*, written in English and probably using earlier homilies as sources, has much in common with these twelfth-century collections, but should not be seen for this reason as simply looking back to Old English material; rather it has been described as 'apparently, the first large-scale [Middle-English] prose work to come from the east of England'.[19] To the older question of whether it is an innovative work of Middle English literature or an Old English work dressed up in Middle English clothes one may respond that it demonstrates a blurring of the borders between these designations in the history of English literature. Jane Roberts has shown that, in terms of script, there is no clear and definite boundary between Old English and early Middle English;[20] one can argue that in analogous fashion some Old English religious concerns were brought forward into early Middle English in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.

The late twelfth and thirteenth centuries saw new developments in Latin *pastoralia* and vernacular pastoral literature; Millett has argued that innovation in the collections of twelfth- and thirteenth-century English homilies could be seen as part of 'a revival of vernacular religious prose' in the context of pastoral reform dating back to the Third Lateran Council of 1179.[21] Much of the new

16 S. Wenzel, 'Preaching the Seven Deadly Sins', in *Garden of Evil*, pp. 145–69 (pp. 146–7).
17 Treharne and Swan, 'Introduction', p. 7.
18 S. Irvine, 'The Compilation and Use of Manuscripts Containing Old English in the Twelfth Century', in *Rewriting Old English*, ed. Swan and Treharne, pp. 41–61 (pp. 42, 60, 61).
19 Zeeman, 'Continuity in Middle English Prose', p. 418.
20 Roberts, *Guide to Scripts*, p. 3.
21 B. Millett, 'The Discontinuity of English Prose: Structural Innovation in the Trinity

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emphasis on pastoral care came from Paris, where the renowned master Peter the Chanter was concerned with the practical application of moral principles. His ideas had a great influence on a number of theologians and churchmen, including a 'band of Englishmen who came to the schools of Paris and as a result of their studies later wrote guides to confessors'; the 'most noteworthy' of these was Thomas of Chobham.[22] Another was William de Montibus, who died two years before the convening of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215–16) and played an important role in 'the development of this practical literature of pastoral care' in England.[23] Although it is often considered that the Fourth Lateran Council, with its insistence on annual confession to one's parish priest, stimulated the development of pastoral material, including guides to confession, it is clear that such material was being developed prior to 1215. Alan of Lille, who died in 1202, dedicated seven chapters of his *Summa de arte praedicatoria* to the capital vices; Thomas of Chobham, who studied in Paris in the 1180s, wrote pastoral works and sermons in the first quarter of the thirteenth century on his return to England. Chobham treats the seven sins analytically, as those confessed to the priest and requiring the medicine of confession and penitence.[24] It is unknown how long it took for the information in these Latin *summae* to percolate down to the parish level and what influence they had on the daily work of parish priests.[25]

It is clear, however, that, even at the turn of the thirteenth century, there was a concern in England to aid priests in the fulfillment of their pastoral duties towards lay people: Canon 18 of the Third Lateran Council had decreed that free teaching should be provided for the education of clerics and poor scholars, and although the Fourth Lateran Council had to repeat this requirement, it seems that some English bishops had implemented it. Alexander of Ashby, for example, writing in the late twelfth century, commented on how many more opportunities for being taught there were than when he was a boy.[26] The statutes of Stephen Langton for the diocese of Canterbury, issued shortly

and Lambeth Homilies', in *Text and Language in Medieval English Prose: A Festschrift for Tadao Kubouchi*, ed. J. Fisiak, J. Scahill and A. Oizumi, Studies in English Medieval Language and Literature 12 (Frankfurt-am-Main, 2005), pp. 129–50; and 'The Pastoral Context of the Trinity and Lambeth Homilies', p. 61.

22 J. W. Baldwin, *Masters, Princes and Merchants: The Social Views of Peter the Chanter and his Circle*, 2 vols. (Princeton, 1970), I, 34.

23 J. Goering, *William de Montibus: The Schools and the Literature of Pastoral Care*, Studies and Texts 108 (Toronto, 1992), p. 59.

24 Thomas of Chobham, *Summa confessorum* 3.1 ('De septem criminalibus secundum Gregorium'), ed. F. Broomfield, Analecta Mediaevalia Namurcensia 25 (Louvain, 1968), p. 14.

25 S. Wenzel notes that we 'lack relevant documents' which would give evidence of catechetical preaching in England at a parochial level for the first two centuries after the Fourth Lateran Council required priests to undertake such teaching. See 'Preaching the Seven Deadly Sins', pp. 153, 163.

26 Alexander of Ashby, *De artificioso modo predicandi (versio longior)*, ed. F. Morenzoni, in *Alexandri Essebiensis Opera theologica*, CCCM 188 (Turnhout, 2004), pp. 52–3.

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before the Fourth Lateran Council, mention the importance of the sacraments – including Eucharist and confession – within the context of the requirements of the priestly office.[27] It is possible to read *Vices and Virtues*, which consists largely of confessional material, within the context of the development of material designed to aid priests at a time when the *cura animarum* ('care of souls') was already beginning to be insisted upon. Later treatises on the seven sins – especially those written in the wake of the requirements of the Fourth Lateran Council – would be used by priests in the guidance of penitents coming to confession. *Ancrene Wisse*, although written primarily for anchoresses, can also be read in this wider, pastoral context: it provides both a formula for confession (it should be 'accusatory, bitter with regret, complete, naked, frequently made, prompt, humble, made with shame, fear and hope, discreet, truthful and voluntary, one's own, resolute, and well thought out beforehand'[28]), and a guide to the seven sins to allow a thorough examination of the conscience.[29] According to Bloomfield, this 'clear and elaborate reference to the chief sins' is 'the most important we have so far encountered in English;'[30] Bloomfield uses the treatment of sins in *Ancrene Wisse* to suggest a date for its composition of no earlier than 1225, and Millett also believes it was probably written in the late 1220s: it belongs to a thirteenth-century, post-Lateran Four world.

Vices and Virtues does not share with *Ancrene Wisse* the indications of the pastoral reform of the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries: it does not exhibit either the structure and rhetoric or the specific concerns, such as a focus on the conditions of confession, that are associated with the new pastoral literature of the period. *Vices and Virtues* was largely compiled from earlier material. Nevertheless, it still needs to be read as a text constructed at a time of pastoral reform. It certainly reflects some of the traditional concerns about pastoral care within the Church: priests are described as 'gastliche hierdes' ('spiritual shepherds') who must guard and direct those in their care; they are like Noah, 'ðane gode stieresmann' ('the good steersman') of the ark that is the Church.[31] The comparison of the Church with Noah's Ark may be an old one, but at a time when there was beginning to be a new focus on the care of that Church and its members, it was a simile with a renewed relevance.

The treatment of the chief sins (*heaved-sennes*) occupies little more than one-tenth of *Vices and Virtues* as it exists today. Since the beginning of the manuscript

27 Statutes of Archbishop Stephen Langton for the diocese of Canterbury (July 1213 x July 1214) in *Councils and Synods with Other Documents Relating to the English Church*, vol. II, ed. F. M. Powicke and C. R. Cheney, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1964), II.2, 24–7.

28 'Schrift schal beo wreiful, bitter mid sorhe, ihal, naket, ofte imaket, hihful, eadmod, scheomeful, [dredful and] hopeful, wis, soð, ant willes, ahne ant studeuest, biþoht biuore longe', *Ancrene Wisse: A Corrected Edition of the Text in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 402, with Variants from Other Manuscripts*, ed. B. Millett, EETS OS 325 (Oxford, 2005), p. 115 §5.

29 Ibid., pp. 68–83.

30 Bloomfield, *Sins*, p. 148.

31 *Vices and Virtues*, ed. Holthausen, p. 43 lines 19–20, 21–2.

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is missing, we do not know how they were introduced, but they are presented in the voice of the Soul as a confession; his confession reveals further pastoral concerns:

> Giet is an oðer derne senne ðe me and mani3e oðre saule hafð beswiken. Hie hatte *tristicia,* þat is, sarinesse.
>
> (There is still another secret sin that has deceived me and many other souls. It is called *tristitia*, that is, sorrow.)
>
> Ðies swikele senne haueð 3iet ane suster, ðe is icleped *accidia,* ðat is, asolkenesse, ðe me haueð ðurh mire 3emeleaste mani3e siðes beswiken.
>
> (This deceptive sin has yet another sister, who is called *accidia*, that is sloth, who, through my own negligence, has deceived me many times.)[32]

The extant text begins part way through the discussion of one sin, probably wrath (*ira*). The list continues with sorrow (*tristitia*, *sarinesse*), sloth (*accidia*, *asolkenesse*) and pride (*superbia*, *modinesse*). These four sins might constitute the last four of the Cassianic list; Bloomfield claims they show 'the late preservation and perhaps last example of the pure Cassianic list in England'.[33]

In *Vices and Virtues*, the remnant of the eight capital vices are followed by a number of others, the first of which is disobedience (*inobedientia*, *vnhersumnesse*), which is treated much as the capital vices: 'Again, I have done much wrong because of another sin which is called *inobedientia*, that is disobedience.'[34] The narrator, the voice of the Soul, particularly berates himself for this, which he considers to be the key to all other sins:

> Hwat do ic, wrecche saule, ðe am forgilt ðurh unhersumnesse, for ði ðat ic naure hersum ne habbe ibien, ne gode, ne mine gastliche faderes, ne min cristendom, ne obedience nauer3iete wel ne hield?
>
> (What shall I do, wretched soul, that am guilty through disobedience, because I never have been obedient, neither to God, nor to my spiritual fathers, nor to my baptism, nor have I ever yet kept obedience well?)[35]

The other sins and vices (*vnðeawes*) listed suggest a personal preoccupation. They are: swearing oaths (*oðes sueriingge*), lying (*lesinge*), evil backbiting (*heuele baftespache*), deceit (*swicedome*), cursing (*wer3hinde*), impatience (*vnðolemodnesse*), self-will (*propria voluntas*, *a3en-wille*,) and unrighteousness (*hunrihtwisnesse*), a large proportion of these being carried out in some form of speech.

32 Ibid., p. 3 lines 7–8, 22–4; my translations are based on those of Holthausen, provided in parallel to the text, but modernized to remove Holthausen's archaisms.
33 Bloomfield, *Sins*, pp. 119–20.
34 *Vices and Virtues*, ed. Holthausen, p. 7 lines 15–16.
35 Ibid., p. 7 lines 28–31.

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The consideration of the sins ends with a prayer to Mary and the saints for mercy: 'Pray that we may come to you, not through our merits, but through God's great mercy and yours' ('Biddeþ ðat we moten to ȝew cumen, naht for ure earninge, ac for godes muchele mildce and for ȝewer!'),[36] and the Soul addresses his 'dear friend' who 'has aroused me from death, and through God's grace instructed and warned me to do well . . . and taught me that I should be conscious of my sins . . .' ('ðat ic scolde bien icnawe of mine sennes . . .').[37] The voice of the Soul, anguished and in distress because of its sinfulness, is answered by the voice of Reason who offers comfort in the form of the Virtues. The lengthy speech on the Virtues breaks off when Reason fears that the body 'which is very weak and very frail' ('ðe is swiðe unstrang and swiðe brusel')[38] needs to rest. The Soul and Body both beg him to continue, and there is another long list of virtues, set within an extended, loose allegory of God's temple. The virtues occupy the rest – the greater part – of the work; they are presented by the voice of Reason as being able to 'shield you from these cursed spirits' ('ðie muȝen scilden fram ðese ȝewerȝede gaste[s])' and, with God's help, lead you home 'to your land, where you were formed' ('to ðin earde, ðar ðu to gescapen wer').[39]

This is a didactic dialogue with lengthy monologues and no sense of debate, which is in keeping with the medieval tradition of the dialogue. Elizabeth Merrill has commented that *Vices and Virtues* 'shows how readily the form of the Ciceronian dialogue, as well as the barer form of catechism, could be turned by the Church authorities to the purposes of religious or moral instruction'.[40] It is not clear whether this dialogue is just a literary device or something more: perhaps it should be read both as an individual confessing to his spiritual advisor and also as a formal literary dialogue between the Soul and Reason. A dual voice is present also in *Ancrene Wisse*, where the author is addressing both anchoresses whom he knows and a potential wider audience. Not all the sins dealt with in the section on the seven sins in *Ancrene Wisse* are relevant to the anchoresses: it also provides a general guide to the sins as temptations to be avoided by all people. The anchoresses are constructed as ideals of the anchoritic life, while they are also presented as the real women whom the author knew.[41] In *Vices and Virtues*, the voice of the Soul provides a personal confession and a guide to the sins, while the voice of Reason details the Virtues that can be enlisted in the struggle against the Vices. At the end of *Vices and Virtues*, the *auctor* separates himself from the narrating voice of *Ratio* and acknowledges that much of the material in this work 'we have here gathered from . . . many a holy man's labours' ('we hier habbeð igadered . . . of maniȝes

36 Ibid., p. 21 lines 18–19.
37 Ibid., p. 21 lines 26–9.
38 Ibid., p. 21 lines 27–8.
39 Ibid., p. 23 line 31 to p. 25 line 1.
40 Merrill, *Dialogue in English Literature*, p. 23.
41 C. Gunn, *'Ancrene Wisse': From Pastoral Literature to Vernacular Spirituality* (Cardiff, 2008), pp. 3–4.

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hali3es mannes 3eswinkes').[42] There are at least three 'I's here – the voices of the soul, reason and the *auctor*: it is not clear that we can identify any of them with the actual author of the text.

Holthausen's notes to his edition of *Vices and Virtues* suggest comparisons with other thirteenth-century texts, but these are usually just examples of similar phrasing rather than analogues. Where well-known patristic texts and scriptural passages are apparently quoted, these are never at length and tend to be illustrative rather than formative. I have not yet found either a close analogue or definite source for any major part of *Vices and Virtues*, though similar treatment of some of the material can be found in both earlier and contemporary texts. For instance, at the close of the discussion of the sins in *Vices and Virtues* there is a section on the five senses – 'Þa fif wittes'. The five senses which 'look after my wretched body'[43] are interpreted as the five talents in the parable from Matthew. This 'allegorical application'[44] is found in commentaries on Matthew by Jerome, Gregory and Bede, as well as in a homily by Ælfric. In the section on the five senses, there is a description of Hell as a place of extremes, impossible to describe:

> Ac æure ðar is wop and woninge for ðare michele hæte and un3emæte brene, and ðar is chiueringe of toðen for ðe unmate chele; . . . Ne mai ic þenchen, ne mid muðe seggen, ne on boke write, alle ðo pinen of helle.
>
> (But always there is weeping and wailing through the great heat and immeasurable burning, and there is gnashing of teeth through the immeasurable chill; . . . I cannot think, nor say with mouth, nor write in a book, all the pains of Hell.)[45]

Similar elements are found in the description of Hell in *Sawles Warde*, a thirteenth-century text which works the Latin treatise attributed to St Anselm, *De custodia interioris hominis*, into homiletic form;[46] and the contrast between the extremes of heat and cold is found also in the twelfth-century *Poema morale*.[47]

42 *Vices and Virtues*, ed. Holthausen, p. 151 lines 16–17.

43 'Ða fif wittes ðe god me [be]tahte to lokin of mine wrecche lichame', ibid., p. 17 lines 2–3.

44 Ibid., notes, p. 159.

45 Ibid., p. 17 line 32 to p. 19 line 1, p. 19 lines 8–9.

46 See *Medieval English Prose for Women: Selections from the Katherine Group and 'Ancrene Wisse'*, ed. B. Millett and J. Wogan-Browne (Oxford, 1992), p. xxv; and *Anchoritic Spirituality: 'Ancrene Wisse' and Associated Works*, trans. and introduced by A. Savage and N. Watson (New York, 1991), p. 210; *De custodia interioris hominis* is in *Memorials of St Anselm*, ed. R. W. Southern and F. S. Schmitt, Auctores Britannici Medii Aevi 1 (London, 1969), pp. 354–9.

47 *Poema morale* is found in a number of manuscripts; published editions include *Old English Homilies and Homiletic Treatises . . . of the 12th and 13th Centuries*, ed. R. Morris, EETS OS 29 and 34 (London, 1868), pp. 158–82 (p. 173, lines 231–5), and *Old English Homilies of the Twelfth Century from MS B 14.52 in Trinity College Cambridge*, ed. R. Morris, EETS OS 53 (London, 1873), pp. 220–32.

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A later reference to the *heuedsennes* as the gates of Hell ('ȝaten of helle') is also old,[48] with analogies in Ambrose, Jerome and Bede. This range of possible influences – patristic and Old English (Ælfric and Wulfstan, and going back to the Latin writings of Bede and Alcuin) – is typical of much of the material in *Vices and Virtues*, but analogies, especially with the Old English, are rarely close enough to suggest a specific source.

The author's treatment of the virtues suggests a similar range of possible sources; the first list consists of right belief (*fides recta*, *rihte ȝeleaue*), firm hope (*firma spes*, *feste hope*) and charity (*caritas*, *charite*); this bears some similarities to the list in Alcuin's *De virtutibus et vitiis* as translated in the collection of homilies found in Vespasian D xiv. The second list of virtues includes prayer (*oratio sancta*, *biene*) and here there is another echo of the Old English Alcuin: *Vices and Virtues* claims that when we read in the book, that is, the Bible, God speaks with us and when we pray, we speak with God;[49] Alcuin also claims that when we read the holy book, God speaks to us.[50] The author of *Vices and Virtues* may well have known Alcuin, in either the Latin or Old English versions, but the similarities are not close enough to suggest he was using any particular known version. The range of possible sources suggests the wide reading of the author, but he rarely quotes at length and we cannot be sure of all the material he had access to.

We must presume he had access to the pseudo-Augustinian *De vera et falsa pœnitentia,* from which *Vices and Virtues* quotes in the sections on penitence and confession ('Of scrifte' and 'Of andetnesse'). This was an influential medieval treatise on the theology of penance; probably written in the late eleventh or early twelfth century, it is referred to in both Gratian's *Decretum* and the *Liber sententiarum* of Peter Lombard as being by Augustine.[51] It is concerned with the usefulness of penitence, how confession should be conducted, and the importance of penance.[52] *Vices and Virtues* quotes from a short chapter on the (supposed) etymology of *poenitere*: 'Penitere est penam tenere', translating

48 *Vices and Virtues*, ed. Holthausen, p. 27 line 9.

49 'Ðanne we on boke radeð, ðanne spekeð godd wið us; ðanne we ure bede seggeð, þanne speke (we) wið gode', ibid., p. 141 lines 19–21.

50 'Se þe wyle simle mid Gode beon, he sceal him oft gebiddan, & he sceal oft halige gewriten rædan, for þan þe þonne we us gebiddað, we specað to Gode, & þonne we halge bech rædað, God specð to us', 'The Old English Alcuin', in *Early English Homilies from the Twelfth Century MS Vesp. D. XIV*, ed. R. D. N. Warner, EETS OS 152 (London, 1917), p. 94.

51 It would seem that the author of *Vices and Virtues* did not know the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard, since they gave the 'seal of authority' to the Gregorian scheme of seven sins; Bloomfield, *Sins*, p. 85.

52 *De vera et falsa pœnitentia* 'may have been composed as late as the early twelfth century' and had 'a disproportionate influence on the twelfth-century development of the theology of penance', B. Millett, '*Ancrene Wisse* and the Conditions of Confession', *English Studies* 80 (1999), 193–215 (p. 194); cf. P. Anciaux, *La théologie du sacrement de pénitence au XIIe siècle* (Louvain, 1949), p. 15. Thanks to Jonathan Hall for further information via medieval-religion listserv.

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into English: 'That is true repentance . . . to hold oneself ever in some pain.'[53] It does not quote further from *De vera et falsa pœnitentia*, which continues: 'ut semper puniat in se ulciscendo, quod commisit peccando. Pœna enim proprie dicitur læsio, quæ punit et vindicat quod quisque commisit' ('that he may always suffer in punishment what he committed in sinning. For punishment is properly called an injury, which punishes and revenges that which he committed') – emphasizing the payment of a penalty or punishment.[54] Unlike the source text, *Vices and Virtues* does not concern itself with the specifics of penance – the payment of the debt of sin – insisting rather on seeking God's mercy through confession.

The author of *Vices and Virtues* is concerned with representing and expanding on the spiritual importance of the sacrament of confession, not with advising how to guide a penitent through confession. He defines confession as 'when someone tells his confessor with his mouth his sins, that were previously hidden in his heart' ('ðanne ðe mann undett his herte, and seið his scrifte his sennes ðurh his muðe, ðe waren arrer ȝedett on his herte').[55] This is in keeping with the teaching of the period, which stressed the importance of oral confession, but it is perhaps of interest that a confessor, *scrifte*, is referred to, rather than a priest. The date of composition is too early for *scrifte* to refer to a friar, but the confessor may be a religious rather than a secular priest. The *De vera et falsa pœnitentia* is quoted again: 'qui per vos peccatis, per vos erubescatis', translated as 'You who sin of your own accord, be ashamed of yourselves', and 'Fit enim veniale per confessionem, quod criminale fuerat per operationem' ('It becomes a pardonable [*forȝiuenliche*] sin through confession what was before a capital vice [*heaued-senne*] through commission').[56] The chapter from which these quotations are drawn deals with the proper manner of confession – that it should be oral and made to the appropriate person – the power of the priest, and how to make a confession if no priest is present. *Vices and Virtues* is less concerned with the proper form of confession, but insists that mercy be sought in this life since he who does not get God's mercy here will never get it elsewhere ('Se ðe her godes mildsce ne beȝett, ne wurð hie him naure mo ealles hwer'). If he is alone at his death, he should confess to God alone.[57]

Earlier, however, the possibility of some remission and redemption after death is suggested. The author directly addresses his reader: after death the body lies under the earth, 'separated from all living men, alone, foul, stinking, full of worms', while the soul suffers 'the boiling heat of the hot fire' and 'the

53 *Vices and Virtues*, ed Holthausen, p. 121 lines 15–17.

54 'That he may always suffer in punishment what he committed in sinning. For punishment is properly called an injury, which punishes and revenges what he (whoever) committed it', *De vera et falsa pœnitentia* cap. 19, *PL* 40, 1128–9.

55 *Vices and Virtues*, ed. Holthausen, p. 121 line 30 to p. 123 line 1.

56 *De vera*, cap. 10, *PL* 40, 1122, quoted in *Vices and Virtues*, ed. Holthausen, p. 123 lines 3–5, 6–9.

57 *Vices and Virtues*, ed. Holthausen, p. 123 lines 13–14, 18.

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shivering chill, so you cannot help yourself' ('ðat tu ðe seluen naht ne miht helpen'): there you must remain until you have redeemed all your sins and are cleansed from misdeed through suffering, but also 'through the masses and prayers which are said for you' ('ðurh masses and bienes and ælmesses ðe me doð for ðe').[58] This reference to purgatorial cleansing after death and before the Final Judgment seems to refer to Purgatory as a specific place where the soul suffers awaiting the Final Judgment. *Vices and Virtues* was composed from earlier material towards the end of the twelfth century, at the very time Jacques Le Goff claims Purgatory was born.[59] It might be more accurate to say that at this time Purgatory was christened, since it was around this time (Le Goff suggests between 1170 and 1180)[60] that a name was given to a concept that had been around for centuries; and with that name, *purgatorium*, came a specific location, separate from Hell and – which is probably more significant – a notion of temporality distinct from the eternity of Hell. In fact, this account of purgatorial cleansing in *Vices and Virtues* is similar to that in one of the homilies of Bede.[61] What is interesting about its adaptation for *Vices and Virtues* is the use of the second person and the consequent emotional impact upon its reader.

What sort of reader, then, was the text intended for? Thomas Hahn gives *Vices and Virtues* as an example of vernacular prose intended for a wider readership than the 'specific, almost always female, audiences' of works such as *Ancrene Wisse* and *Hali Meidhad*.[62] He also suggests that the instruction to the reader that 'the innermost darkness is in the heart' ('Þe inreste þesternesse is in ðare hierte') 'seems to imply private reading', and argues that *Vices and Virtues* supports the argument that 'audiences continued to grow in numbers

58 Ibid., p. 63 line 29 to p. 65 line 3.

59 J. le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, trans. A. Goldhammer (London, 1984; reprint Aldershot, 1990).

60 Ibid., p. 362.

61 Bede, *Homiliarum evangelii libri ii*, 1. Homilia 2 'In Adventu', ed. D. Hurst, CCSL 122 (Turnhout, 1955), pp. 7–13 (pp. 12–13): 'At uero non nulli propter bona quidem opera ad electorum sortem praeordinati, sed propter mala aliqua quibus polluti de corpore exierunt, post mortem severe castigandi excipiuntur flammis ignis purgatorii et uel usque ad diem iudicii longa huius examinatione a uitiorum sorde mundantur uel certe prius amicorum fidelium precibus elemosinis ieiuniis fletibus et hostiae salutaris oblationibus absoluti a poenis et ipsi ad beatorum perueniunt requiem'. In the translation by L. T. Martin and D. Hurst, in Bede the Venerable, *Homilies on the Gospels, Book 1: Advent to Lent*, Cistercian Studies Series 110 (Kalamazoo, 1991), pp. 9–18 (pp. 16–17), this is: 'But in truth there are some who were preordained to the lot of the elect on account of their good works, but on account of some evils by which they were polluted went out from the body after death to be severely chastised, and were seized by the flames of the fire of purgatory. They are either made clean from the stains of their vices in their long ordeal up until judgment day, or on the other hand, if they are absolved from their penalties by the petitions, almsgiving, fasting, weeping and oblation of the saving sacrificial offering by their faithful friends, they may come earlier to the rest of the blessed.'

62 This is not taking into account the possible wider readership of *Ancrene Wisse* mentioned above.

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and in their capacity to meet the demands of intricate and protracted reading processes'.[63] The implication is that these works were intended for a lay readership; there is, however, no conclusive evidence in the text of *Vices and Virtues* for the identity of either the reader or the author; we do not even know what sort of person the author was.

There is evidence of knowledge of the devotional practices of religious orders, and the ideals of monasticism are praised. For example, there may be some evidence in the Creeds which the Soul is advised he must know. Reason tells the Soul that it must know both the Athanasian Creed, referred to by its opening phrase, 'Quicunque vult' ('Whoever would be saved, before all things it is necessary that he hold the Catholic faith . . .'),[64] and the 'Credo in Deum': 'firmly believe all that is taught in "Credo in deum" and "Quicunque vult", as neither you nor anyone can be saved unless we believe all that' ('and tahte on ðe credo in deum and on quicunque uult, all ȝelief ðu fastliche, elles ðu ne namann ne mai bien ȝeboreȝen bute we all ðat ilieuen').[65] 'Credo in Deum' is the Apostolic Creed, which is the creed that early diocesan statutes, such as those issued by Stephen Langton, archbishop of Canterbury, in 1213–14,[66] required to be taught. It was also the 'Credo in Deum' that Wulfstan mentioned in his *De fide catholica*;[67] moreover, the first constitution of the Fourth Lateran Council, also known as *De fide catholica*, does not use the wording of the Athanasian Creed in its formulation of the Catholic faith. Lay people were not required to know the Athanasian Creed, but it was laid down for Prime in secular and monastic use on Sundays and feasts;[68] the reference to it seems to suggest the author's acquaintance with the regular celebration of the Office.

Another element of the work which might suggest its composition for monastic use is its employment of the Cassianic list of eight vices, since Cassian's writings were required reading for Benedictine monks. Though the octad of vices had already moved beyond the confines of the monastery during the Carolingian period,[69] there are also other indications that the author knew more of Cassian's work; for example, in the analysis of sorrow (*tristitia*, *sorinesse*) the author writes, 'tristicia mortem operante' ('sorrow working

63 Hahn, 'Early Middle English', p. 81 and n. 39; quoting *Vices and Virtues*, ed Holthausen, p. 17 line 28.

64 For an English translation of the Athanasian Creed, see http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/02033b.htm (accessed 27 December 2011).

65 *Vices and Virtues,* ed. Holthausen, p. 27 lines 15–17.

66 *Councils and Synods,* II.1, 31.

67 *The Homilies of Wulfstan*, ed. D. Bethurum (Oxford, 1957), p. 158.

68 J. Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy from the Tenth to the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 99–100.

69 John Cassian wrote both his *Conferences* and *Institutes* for a monastic audience: an understanding of the sins, or passions, that must be overcome was a starting point for the life of virtue. See O. Chadwick, *John Cassian* (Cambridge, 1968), pp. 93–4. But the octad had been used to compose mirrors for princes by Carolingian authors. See Newhauser, *Treatise*, pp. 114–16.

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death'). A note in the margin refers to St Paul;[70] the relevant verse from Paul's second Epistle to the Corinthians, however, reads 'tristitia mortem operatur' ('sorrow [of the world] worketh death')[71] it is in Cassian's *Conlationes* that we find the ablative absolute form of this phrase.[72] It would seem that the later annotator, writing in red in the margin, was not so familiar with Cassian as was the original author; this may suggest monastic authorship, but also points to the reach of the text beyond the walls of the monastery.

Carole Straw argues that 'Cassian offers a "bubble-up" hamartiology, driven by desire'; from the first desire, gluttony, there is an inexorable growth and expansion to pride, 'when one claims to be like God',[73] the ultimate sin. The author of *Vices and Virtues*, however, writes of Pride that 'Hie was anȝinn of alle sennes' ('It was the beginning of all sins');[74] this seems to be a reference to the phrase from Chapter Ten of Ecclesiasticus, quoted by Gregory in his *Moralia in Job*: 'Radix quippe cuncti mali superbia est, de qua, scriptura attestante, dicitur: "Initium omnis peccati est superbia"' ('Certainly, pride is the root of all evil, as Scripture confirms, saying: The beginning of every sin is pride').[75] Rhonda McDaniel has shown that the 'Anglo-Saxon "man of letters,"' Aldhelm, while using the Cassianic order of the vices, also utilized the language of Gregory in his 'Prosa de uirginitate'.[76] In his later 'Carmen de uirginitate', however, Aldhelm kept to the Cassianic scheme; McDaniel suggests that the simplest explanation for this may be that 'he expected his readers to be more familiar with Cassian's works because they were recommended reading according to the *Benedictine Rule*'.[77] Later Old English writers, such as Wulfstan, used the Cassianic list; the regular Cassianic order is also found in the Lambeth homily 'De octo viciis & de duodecim abusivis huius seculi',[78] and a similar list of eight vices is found in a collection of English homilies in another twelfth-century manuscript, Vespasian D xiv.[79] These other twelfth-century accounts of the sins, however, are not presented in the first person

70 MS Stowe 34, fol. 1r.

71 See Holthausen's notes, *Vices and Virtues*, p. 153.

72 Cassian, *Conlationes xxiiii* 1.13.3, ed. M. Petschenig, CSEL 13 (Vienna, 1886), p. 18 (= *PL* 49, 498A).

73 C. Straw, 'Gregory, Cassian, and the Cardinal Vices', in *Garden of Evil*, pp. 35–58 (p. 37).

74 *Vices and Virtues*, ed. Holthausen, p. 5 line 8.

75 'Certainly, pride is the root of all evil, as Scripture confirms, saying: The beginning of every sin is pride', Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Job* 31.45.87, ed. M. Adriaen, 3 vols., CCSL 143, 143A and 143B (Turnhout, 1979–85), CCSL 143B, 1610.

76 See R. L. McDaniel, 'Pride Goes before a Fall: Aldhelm's Practical Application of Gregorian and Cassianic Conceptions of *Superbia* and the Eight Principal Vices', in *Seven Deadly Sins*, pp. 95–109 (pp. 97, 103).

77 Ibid., p. 108.

78 *Old English Homilies and Homiletic Treatises*, ed. Morris, 1st s., pp. 100–19; see Bloomfield, *Sins*, pp. 115–16.

79 *Early English Homilies,* ed. Warner, p. 16. In an attempt to return to the inspiration of early monasticism, later medieval spiritual writers turned to Cassian and 'the Cassianic octad underwent a revival', Newhauser, *Treatise*, p. 124, and see p. 148.

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as an account of sins committed by the narrator. But like these later twelfth-century works, *Vices and Virtues* appears to assess sin not only in a monastic context, but also in one designed to appeal to a wider audience.

The overall tone of pastoral care of *Vices and Virtues* might seem to point to an author with pastoral responsibility, either for an individual or in a wider community. It is possible that he was an Augustinian canon, since they, more than members of other orders, had responsibility for pastoral care, although it is not clear to what extent they personally fulfilled their parochial duties.[80] While it is possible that the intended reader was a religious, and perhaps a religious who was a priest, we should also remember that the character of *Vices and Virtues* is not that of a confessional guide for such a priest; there is no systematic listing of the sins, with their branches or offspring, that could be used for guiding a thorough confession. Rather, the work reads as the soul's outpouring of its own sinfulness, as in a confession.

While the author may have been acquainted with the practices of a religious house, the use of English might suggest a non-religious reader, or at least not one who was a member of a regular house. Could the intended reader have been, like the readers of *Ancrene Wisse*, a lay anchorite? There are a number of references to the religious life and, in particular, anchorites; but there is an insistence that hermits should not live in the wilderness unless first tried through the rule.[81] This is probably a reference to the Rule of St Benedict, where anchorites are described as those who have been tested in the monastic life before going into the desert to engage in solitary battle with the devil,[82] and this would appear to be a warning about the rigors of lay anchoritism. Lay anchorites were devout people who entered the anchorhold without first taking the vows of a regular order, which became an increasingly popular vocation in the thirteenth century. In the section on one of the vices, sorrow (*tristitia*, *sorinesse*), *Vices and Virtues* refers to the religious man 'who has renounced all worldly things for God's love' ('ðe alle woreld-þing for godes luue hafð forlaten') and whom the cursed spirit of sorrow causes 'to regret that he has ever done so' ('ofþenchen þat he æure swo haueð').[83] The author returns frequently to the ideal of renouncing the world; those who have forsaken the world and serve the Lord 'on religiun' (translated by Holthausen as 'in orders') follow

80 R. Hanna, 'Augustinian Canons and Middle English Literature', in *The English Medieval Book: Studies in Memory of Jeremy Griffiths*, ed. A. S. G. Edwards *et al.* (London, 2000), pp. 27–42 (p. 28); and T. Colk, 'Twelfth-Century East Anglian Canons: A Monastic Life?', in *Medieval East Anglia*, ed. C. Harper-Bill (Woodbridge, 2005), pp. 209–24 (p. 209). It is interesting to note that what is usually considered the first house of regular canons in England was founded in Colchester in Essex, the county in which the dialect of *Vices and Virtues* suggests it may have been composed.

81 'We findeð on ȝewrite þat eremite ne owh on wilderne te wu-nien, bute he arst bie ȝefanded ðurh regule', *Vices and Virtues*, ed. Holthausen, p. 73 lines 27–8.

82 'The Rule of St Benedict', in *Regular Life: Monastic, Canonical and Mendicant Rules*, ed. D. J. McMillan and K. Smith Fladenmuller, TEAMS (Kalamazoo, 1997), p. 51.

83 *Vices and Virtues*, ed. Holthausen, pp. 2, 3 lines 12–14.

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the holy prophet Daniel.[84] It is not enough to change one's clothes: those who will gain the greatest reward are those who 'could live exaltedly, but humble themselves in order to have humility and to help God's needy ones'.[85] The perfect life is to leave everything and to follow Christ, as the young man is advised in Matthew,[86] but there are warnings about entering the religious life: vows made cannot be renounced to return to one's former 'less-good' life.[87] A similar warning is made with reference to virginity:

> Naðer ne godd ne þe apostel ne hieten þis maidenhad to healden, buten ðo þe wolden mid here gode wille hit behaten. Ac seððen hit is behaten, siðþen hit is to healden, alswa hie willen ben ibor3en.
>
> (Neither God nor the apostle commanded anyone to keep their virginity, except those who would vow it with their free will. But when it is vowed, it must be kept, if they want to be saved.)[88]

This is not unlike the warning in *Ancrene Wisse* to the anchoresses for whom it was written that they should not make any vows they cannot keep.[89]

The vows referred to in *Vices and Virtues* – in particular those of chastity, stability of abode and obedience – could just as likely be those taken by a lay anchorite as those required by a religious order. For instance, the importance of obedience is not described exclusively in terms of a religious order. Everyone who wants to be saved should be obedient to God and, for God's love, to the bishop, to his priest and to his lord.[90] A monk should be obedient to the abbot, a mortal man ('deadliche manne') 'as if it were God Himself',[91] and so however high a family he may have come from he becomes a servant – 'þreal'.[92] Anchorites who were not attached to a religious house, on the other hand, were under the authority of the bishop. It is not possible to say whether this emphasis on obedience has any personal import, though we should perhaps remember the narrator's concern with the sin of disobedience. That the perfect life is to forsake the world is reiterated, but also that this withdrawal from the

84 Ibid., pp. 42, 43 line 3.
85 'Ðe mihte heiliche libben, ac hie neðerið hem for eadmodnesse te habben and for to helpen godes þearuen', ibid., p. 57 lines 29–31.
86 Ibid., p. 67 line 35 to p. 69 line 3.
87 Ibid., p. 71 lines 16–19.
88 Ibid., p. 129 lines 19–22.
89 'For hwa-se nimeð þing on hond ant bihat hit Godd as heast forte don hit, ha bint hire þer-to, ant sunegeð deadliche i þe bruche 3ef ha hit brekeð willes.' ('For whoever undertakes something and promises God to carry it out as a vow binds herself to it, and commits a mortal sin if she voluntarily breaks her vow.') *Ancrene Wisse*, ed. Millett, p. 3, §6.
90 'Ðies in swiðe beheue æurilch mann ðat æure i-bore3en scal bien, þat he bie hersum gode, and, for his luue ðe biscope, and his prieste, and his louerde.' *Vices and Virtues*, ed. Holthausen, p. 109 lines 8–10.
91 Ibid., p. 109 line 15.
92 Ibid., p. 109 line 14.

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world must be voluntary.[93] The temptations of a religious life may be greater, but they never exceed what can be endured: 'Đe apostele seið ðat godd ne wile naht þoli3en of none his icorene more te fondin ðanne he mu3e þolien' ('The apostle says that God will not suffer one of his chosen ones to be tried more than he can bear').[94] The same comfort is offered also by *Ancrene Wisse*, quoting from St Paul: 'God is faithful; he does not allow us to be tempted beyond what we can endure.'[95] The author clearly thinks highly of the anchorite's life – it is 'swiðe gastlich lif' ('a very spiritual life'), and he comments that whereas both anchorites and hermits used to live far from men, they now live a spiritual life in accordance with 'ðare woreld ðe nu is' ('the world as it now is').[96] But however much the perfection of anchoritism is praised, morality encompasses all types of human beings: good and evil men can be found in all walks of life. The teaching of *Vices and Virtues* is relevant to everyone, whether enclosed or in the world.

The discussion on the perfect life comes within the context of the section on Counsel ('Of rade'); perfection requires withdrawal from the world – but with good counsel. The intention and practice are important, not the mere fact of withdrawal. So a monk may withdraw to live in a hermitage, but must do so 'mid hlutter heart' ('with a pure heart').[97] There is also a concern with acting righteously within the world: rich men who lend money on property, but keep the rents for longer than is necessary for the repayment of the debt, are condemned: 'full3ewiss hie bieð idemd for gouleres' ('certainly they are doomed as usurers').[98] References to worldly practices, such as fair market trading, that would not be out of place in *Piers Plowman*, suggest a need to communicate at a more popular level. Penance was always a central and essential element in the religious life – especially the anchoritic life which was dedicated to rigorous asceticism and perpetual penitence – but while *Vices and Virtues* considers the withdrawal from the world necessitated by the anchoritic life as perfect, and necessary to ensure salvation, it also insists that salvation is possible in the world: penance can be incorporated within ordinary daily lives. It is possible to lead a righteous life within the world:

> 3if ðu wilt on ðare world wuni3en and ðurh ðese godes wordes war bien and ðane eadie Iob fol3in, ðe was god worldmann: ðu miht mid godes fultume ðe seluen ber3en

93 Ibid., p. 73 lines 1–6.
94 Ibid., p. 73 lines 15–17.
95 *Ancrene Wisse*, ed. Millett, p. 87 § 45, paraphrasing I Corinthians 10. 13.
96 *Vices and Virtues*, ed. Holthausen, p. 73 lines 29–34. From their beginnings in the Egyptian desert, anchorites and hermits were part of the religious landscape; from the twelfth century onwards they were found in many English towns, the desert having become a metaphor for their life of asceticism.
97 Ibid., p. 73 line 26.
98 Ibid., p. 77 lines 30–1.

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> (If you would live in the world, and keep in mind these words of God, and follow the blessed Job, you can save yourself with God's help.)[99]

The section on Penitence concludes, 'Ða ðe bieð on religiun, hie bieð aure under scrifte, swa bihoueð us alswa' ('Those who are in a religious order are ever under penance, as it also behooves us.')[100] The author and his reader may not be in religious orders, but that is no reason not to lead a life of penance.

It is possible that, like *Ancrene Wisse*, this text was always intended for a variety of readers and that, as a compilation, the references to anchorites and people in the world were preserved from different sources. This may explain a single reference to ladies:

> Harkieð, harkieð, Eue dohtren, ȝe ðe telleð swa wel of ȝeu seluen, þat me clepeð ȝeu lafdies, gað to ðare rihte lafdi and lierneð eadmodnesse,
>
> (Listen, daughters of Eve, you who think so well of yourselves that you are called ladies, go to the right Lady and learn humility!)[101]

This single reference to women, however, is not sufficient to suggest a primary readership of women, such as the gentle-born women for whom the English *Ancrene Wisse* was written.

There is, however, some evidence in the manuscript of actual early readers of the text. I have mentioned that titles were added in red at a later date; they are an indication of a concern for the greater accessibility of the text and that it should be used for reference rather than (or as well as) read as a continuous narrative as it may have been originally intended.[102] The use of later English words for the early English terms would make the text comprehensible to later readers, while the insertion of titles makes clear the divisions of the text and allows it to be used for reference. The marked division of a text is a common feature of thirteenth-century pastoral texts – including *Ancrene Wisse*, which pioneered the use of *destinctiuns*.[103] There are also marginal comments in the manuscript, including some in Latin, which are of particular interest as they suggest something of the concerns of one of the early readers of the manuscript; also within the text there are expressions of confession, such as the emphasis on the Soul's own disobedience, which can be read as the demonstration of someone struggling to observe obedience to his calling. At the top of the page on which we find the section on the sin of disobedience has been written:

99 Ibid., p. 81 lines 7–10.
100 Ibid., p. 121 lines 26–7.
101 Ibid., p. 53 line 33 to p. 55 line 1.
102 See P. Saenger, *Space between Words: The Origins of Silent Reading* (Stanford, 1997), pp. 243–9, 258–61 for a discussion of the new relationship between reader and text occasioned by use of subdivision, headings, punctuation etc.
103 'Þis boc Ich todeale on eahte "destinctiuns", þet ȝe cleopieð dalen', *Ancrene Wisse*, ed. Millett, p. 5, §8.

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> *Hic deberet poni inuidia, quam uideter obliuisci hec anima in sua confessione.* Nith nere nohutt te for3eten, *quia sapientia et inuidia diaboli, mors intrauit in orbem terre, et cetera*.
>
> (Here ought to be put envy, which this soul seems to forget in its confession. *Envy should not be forgotten*, because death entered the earth through the devil's cunning and ill-will.)[104]

Invidia, envy, is included in the Gregorian list of the vices, but not the Cassianic one – which suggests that the later reader was more familiar with the Gregorian list and perhaps not thinking in the strictly ascetic terms that are the hallmark of Cassianic thinking.[105] The comment has been squeezed in at the very top of the page, in a highly abbreviated script and in a hand that is markedly different from any of the main scribes (there are two or three). It is possibly the same hand that has inserted 'mea culpa' in the section on 'Unrighteousness' after the comment, 'Swa ic happe ibien full of euele þohtes' ('So have I been full of evil thoughts').[106] These comments suggest that, as the author was writing in a confessional mode, so was the text being read: not, 'these are the ways you must check your conscience for sin' but 'these are the sins I have committed, and likely you, reader, as well'.

In the section on 'Right Belief', which quotes extensively from the Athanasian Creed in English, what could again be the same hand has added a Latin quotation – also from the Athanasian Creed – in the margin: 'Qui bona egerunt ibunt in uitam eternam, qui uero mala in ignem eternum' ('Who does good will enter into eternal life; but truly who does evil will go into the eternal fire').[107] Again, the text (expanded here in full) is highly abbreviated. These comments were probably added early on in the text's history, if not by the person for whom it was written, then by one of its first readers. Although Latin quotations in the original text are translated into English, it is interesting that this user of an English religious text automatically and easily writes marginalia in Latin.

It is possible that *Vices and Virtues* was written in English because it was designed to be used as a source for teaching (and public reading to) the 'illiterati;'[108] the author is aware as much of an audience as of a reader:

> Alle ðe ðis isieð, and radeð, oðer 3ehiereð, i bidde and warni, for ðe luue of gode and for 3uer lieue saule, þat 3ie hatien and scunien, ouer alle þing, ðes awer3hede senne.

104 *Vices and Virtues*, ed. Holthausen, p. 7 lines 10–13.

105 My thanks to Richard Newhauser for his comments on this, and other parts of this paper.

106 MS Stowe 34, fol. 5v; ed. Holthausen, p. 15 line 25.

107 Ibid., fol. 9r; ed. Holthausen, p. 25 lines 27–8.

108 *Illiterati* was used to mean not able to read Latin and was virtually synonymous with *laici*; Parkes, *Scribes, Scripts and Readers*, p. 275.

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> (All who see and read or hear this, I beg and warn, for the love of God and for your dear soul, that you hate and shun, above all things, this cursed sin.)[109]

He later refers to the teaching of God's Wisdom 'ðurh hali3e writes oðer ðurh hali sermuns' ('in holy texts or in holy sermons').[110]

This was a book intended, not for show, but to be used, and it seems it was used over many years. Holthausen's notes to *Vices and Virtues* draw comparisons with later vernacular religious writing (including the *Ayenbite of Inwit*, an English translation of the *Somme le roi* of Friar Lorens which was also translated as *The Book of Vices and Virtues*), but these are rarely more than similarities of terminology and phrasing. Zeeman, however, presciently commented that *Vices and Virtues* 'may serve as a useful reminder of what is to come', referring to the vernacular spirituality of Walter Hilton and Nicholas Love.[111] *Vices and Virtues* was influenced by early English homilies and was composed before the Fourth Lateran Council, but it was read and apparently still found useful in an era when the new pastoral literature was developing.

109 *Vices and Virtues*, ed. Holthausen, p. 7 line 21–3, p. 6.
110 Ibid., p. 35 lines 28–9, 34.
111 Zeeman, 'Continuity in Middle English Prose', p. 420.

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CHAPTER FOUR

Aquinas on the Seven Deadly Sins: Tradition and Innovation

Eileen C. Sweeney, Boston College

This essay explores Aquinas's complex relationship to the tradition of the seven deadly sins. While Aquinas spends a great deal of time exploring each of the sins, in the *Summa theologiae* he ignores traditional orderings of the sins, completely absorbing them into a largely Aristotelian scheme of the virtues as moderation and vices as excess or deficiency. The shift to this organizing scheme displaces the tradition of understanding the sins in opposition to other groups of sevens (gifts of the Holy Spirit, beatitudes etc.) and mitigates the dualistic and ascetic elements of earlier accounts of the vices. Aquinas's reassessment of these elements of the tradition is examined by placing his treatment in context with other scholastic treatments of the period and by a consideration of the dominant themes and patterns of that treatment in the *Summa theologiae*: the relationship between sin and passion, the seven sins as engendering further sins and the ordering of sins as capital rather than in terms of their gravity.

Thomas Aquinas devoted large parts of two major works to the seven capital or deadly sins, in the *De malo* (*Disputed Questions on Evil*) (seven of the sixteen questions, one question for each of the seven sins), and in the second part of the *Summa theologiae*, where all seven sins appear and are discussed as 'capital' sins.[1] In both works, Aquinas supports Gregory the Great's account from his

[1] Scholars place the composition of the *Summa* and *De malo* within the same time frame. Aquinas seems to have been working on the *De malo* as he was composing part 2 of the *Summa theologiae*. See J.-P. Torrell, *Saint Thomas Aquinas*, vol. I: *The Person and his Work*, trans. R. Royal (Washington, DC, 1996), pp. 146–7, 201–5, 333, 336. Torrell dates the disputations of *De malo* from 1269 to 1271 and the composition of the *Secunda secundae* 1271–2. See Thomas Aquinas, *Quaestiones disputatae de malo*, qq. 8–15, Marietti edn, ed. R. Busa, http://www.corpusthomisticum.org/qdm08.html (accessed 14 January 2012). References to the *Secunda secundae* (2a 2ae) of the *Summa theologiae* (hereafter *ST*) will be made in the text by the part, question, article and objection or reply number. I have used both the Latin text in the edition available online by Robert Busa, http://www.corpusthomisticum.org/sth0000.html (accessed 14 January 2012), and the English translation by the Fathers of the English

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commentary on the book of Job unequivocally, even to the point that whenever there is a dispute about how to account for the daughters of the sins (there are rival lists of daughters in Isidore and other accounts in Chrysostom and Cassian), Aquinas always affirms Gregory's account.[2] In the *secunda secundae* of the *Summa theologiae* not only is each deadly sin discussed but also many of the daughters are discussed separately as sins, such as backbiting, discord and fraud.[3] Thus, the Gregorian tradition of the sins is a strong presence throughout the account of virtue and vice in the *Summa*.[4] This is in contrast to some other important figures in the twelfth and early to mid-thirteenth centuries.

Dominican Province, 3 vols. (New York, 1947–8; reprint, 1981). Aquinas also discusses the sins in his earlier commentary on Peter Lombard, book 2, distinction 42, q. 2, art. 3; however, unlike the *De malo* and *Summa*, in the *Sentences*, Aquinas only discusses the general division into the seven 'capital vices'; there is no discussion of the seven vices individually except for pride in art. 4. See Thomas Aquinas, *Scriptum super Sententiis Petri Lombardi*, Parma edn, ed. Robert Busa, http://www.corpusthomisticum.org/snp2042.html (accessed 14 January 2012).

2 The sins engendered by the capital vices are dubbed their 'daughters'; in Gregory's account, they are described as the army following the generals, which are the chief sins. See Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Job* 31.45.87–9, ed. M. Adriaen, 3 vols., CCSL 143, 143A and 143B (Turnhout, 1979–85), III, 1610–11; translated in Gregory the Great, *Morals on the Book of Job*, 3 vols. (in 4 parts), Library of the Fathers of the Holy Catholic Church 18, 21, 23 and 31 (Oxford, 1844–50), III.2, 491–2. On the difference between the lists of the seven sins in Gregory, Cassian and Isidore, see Bloomfield, *Sins*, pp. 69–79; and C. Straw, 'Gregory, Cassian and the Cardinal Vices', in *Garden of Evil*, pp. 35–58. For some places where Aquinas sides with Gregory over Cassian, Isidore, Chrysostom and others, see *ST* 2a 2ae, q. 35, art. 4; q., ad 3; q. 36, art. 4; q. 118, art., ad 1; q. 162, art. 8; q. 133, art. 5; q. 148, art. 6; q. 153, art. 5; q. 158, art. 7. Even without objections from Cassian, Isidore or elsewhere, Aquinas affirms Gregory's derivation of the daughters not just in his account of them as a group under each capital sin but also explicitly in his treatment of each of the daughters when they are discussed separately. See for example, the discussions of despair and presumption, *ST* 2a 2ae, q. 20, art. 4 and q. 21, art. 4, ad 1 and corpus.

3 See Figure 4.1 for the outline of the discussion of sins in *ST* 2a 2ae showing where the capital or deadly sins and their daughters are considered. Jordan's claim that for Aquinas some of the capital sins do not have 'daughters' is mistaken; M. Jordan, *The Invention of Sodomy in Christian Theology* (Chicago, 1997), p. 146. Gregory's list is given for all seven sins in the *Summa*, though Aquinas does not always dedicate an entire article to their derivation but sometimes compresses the account of the daughters with the discussion of what makes the sin capital. They also appear in the account in *De malo*, though not always explicitly called 'daughters'.

4 For an account of Gregory's influence up through the Middle Ages see the series of articles by R. Wasselynck: 'Les compilations des Moralia in Job du VIIe au XIIe siècle', *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 29 (1962), 5–32; 'Les "Moralia in Job" dans les ouvrages de morale du haut moyen âge latin', *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 31 (1964), 5–31; 'L'influence de l'exégèse de S. Grégoire le Grand sur les commentaires bibliques médiévaux (VIIe–XIIe s.)', *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 32 (1965), 157–204; 'La présence des Moralia de S. Grégoire le Grand dans les ouvrages de morale du XIIe siècle', *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 36 (1969), 31–45; 'La part des "Moralia in Job" de S. Grégoire le Grand dans les "Miscellanea" victorins', *Mélanges de science religieuse* 10 (1953), 287–94.

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For instance, Peter Lombard raises the issue of the seven sins and discusses their ordering but does not consider the particular sins separately or in any depth, and Bonaventure, in his commentary on the Lombard, does no more.[5] William of Auvergne has a small treatise on the vices and sins that mentions some of the sins in Gregory's list individually but only briefly and not as the group of seven.[6] On the other hand, very popular treatises on the vices, like those of John of Rupella (Jean de La Rochelle) and William Peraldus, make the seven deadly sins the core of their ethical views.[7] We know, too, from Siegfried Wenzel's work on sermons that the seven deadly sins were a significant theme in preaching. Peraldus ranked preaching on the sins with the obligation to preach on the Creed and the Ten Commandments.[8] Further, though not a significant presence in the Lombard and Bonaventure and most *Sentences* commentaries, the seven sins or vices do make their way into some scholastic *summae*, for example the *Summa fratris Alexandri* (which, according to Lottin, contains large portions of John of Rupella's *Summa de viciis*) and William of Auxerre's *Summa aurea*.[9]

The question is how Aquinas places the moral tradition as expressed by Gregory, and why he does so. On the one hand, Aquinas spends a great deal

5 Peter Lombard, *Magistri Petri Lombardi Sententiae in iv libris distinctae*, Book II, distinction 42, cap. 6, ed. I. C. Brady, 3rd edn, 2 vols., Spicilegium Bonaventurianum 4 and 5 (Grottaferrata, 1971–81), I, pt. 2, 570; cf. Bonaventure of Balneoreggio, *Commentaria in quatuor libros sententiarum Magistri Petri Lombardi*, Book II, distinction 42, dub. 3, in Bonaventure, *Opera omnia*, ed. Collegii S. Bonaventura, 10 vols. (Quaracchi, 1882–1902), II, 978. For accounts of some unedited scholastic discussions of the group of seven, see Wenzel, 'Problems', p. 3 n. 8.

6 William of Auvergne, *De virtutibus*, chapter 17, in *Guilielmi Alverni episcopi Parisiensis Opera Omnia*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1674), I, 174–8. William's other short treatise, which might be relevant here, *De vitiis et peccatis* (ibid., pp. 260–93), has not yet been carefully analyzed, though it seems mostly concerned with original sin and does not devote too much space to the seven deadly sins. William of Auvergne, as well as the other scholastic authors mentioned here, Albert the Great, William of Auxerre, Alexander of Hales and Bonaventure, could and should be studied in their own right on the seven deadly sins; here I note only that their explicit discussions of the seven sins as a group are less extensive than those of Aquinas and John of Rupella.

7 On these still unedited works and the development of discussions and treatises on the seven sins in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, see Newhauser, *Treatise*, pp. 121–30. See also S. Vecchio, 'The Seven Deadly Sins between Pastoral Care and Scholastic Theology: The *Summa de viciis* of John of Rupella', trans. H. Took, in *Garden of Evil*, pp. 104–27.

8 S. Wenzel, 'Preaching the Seven Deadly Sins', in *Garden of Evil*, pp. 145–69.

9 O. Lottin, 'Alexandre de Halès et la "Summa de vitiis" de Jean de La Rochelle', *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 1 (1929), 240–3. For a description of much of the content of John of La Rochelle's treatise, see Vecchio, 'Seven Deadly Sins'. William of Auxerre (Guillermus Altissiodorensis), *Summa aurea* book 2, tract. 12, cap. 5–9, ed. J. Ribaillier, 7 vols. (Paris and Grottaferrata, 1980–7), II.2, 409–69. William gets to only four of the seven sins – pride, envy, anger and sloth – but asks the kinds of questions Aquinas does – whether they are sins, whether capital sins, naming their species and daughters.

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of time exploring each sin or vice from Gregory's list, but, on the other hand, in the *Summa theologiae* Gregory's ordering of the sins is ignored. The deadly sins appear, but not in Gregory's order – pride, anger, envy, avarice, sloth, gluttony, lust – (nor Cassian's for that matter),[10] nor as derived from each other. Rather, they are placed under and alongside other vices listed under one of the four cardinal or three theological virtues. Four of the seven – avarice, anger, vainglory and pride – are subordinated to minor virtues (liberality, meekness, magnanimity and humility, respectively).[11] Why, after exploring the capital sins so thoroughly in *De malo*, did Aquinas choose not to use this structure to organize his discussion of sin in the *Summa*? How is Aquinas shifting or shaping this tradition in his account of the sins in the *Summa*, and for what ends? Did he explore organizing his account of the vice or sin around the seven capital sins in *De malo* as did John and William only to reject it as somehow unsatisfactory per se, or is the purpose of the *Summa* different in a way that moves Aquinas to subordinate the Gregorian scheme to other principles of organization and derivation? How does the subordination to the scheme of the cardinal virtues, with vice as excess or deficiency, shift the Gregorian account of the sins and for what ends?

If, as Leonard Boyle argued, part of Aquinas's reason for composing the *Summa theologiae* was as an improvement on and replacement for the popular confessors' manuals, with listings of sins and punishments (we know that this part of the *Summa* on the specific virtues and vices was, based on surviving manuscripts, the most popular part of the work), then we can think about Aquinas's relationship to this tradition not just in theoretical but also in pastoral terms.[12] Hamartiology, however, serves at least two pastoral functions: first, in the spiritual practice of avoiding the sins, in which case their psychological genesis is a key feature, and second, in manuals for priests hearing confession, in which case what is most important is an almost judicial classification of sins and their ranking by severity. Aquinas tries to address a bit of both of these in the *Summa theologiae*, but, as we shall see, those pastoral concerns are expressed within the speculative structure of the *Summa theologiae* as a whole and as synthesized with the Aristotelian scheme of virtues and vices.

The early appropriations of the seven deadly or capital sins seem predicated on several assumptions about moral life Aquinas would seem not to share. The first is the notion that moral life is essentially a struggle against evil, expressed by personifying the seven sins as the forces of evil attacking either the person or the virtues. This view Bloomfield roots in the pre-Christian, Gnostic origins of the seven sins, and Carole Straw finds expressed in Cassian's account of

10 See Straw, 'Gregory, Cassian', pp. 38–9 for the contrast between Gregory's and Cassian's ordering tied to their different accounts of the genetic sequencing of the sins.

11 See Figures 4.1 and 4.2B.

12 See L. E. Boyle, *The Setting of the Summa theologiae of Saint Thomas*, The Etienne Gilson Series 5 (Toronto, 1982).

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the deadly sins.[13] According to Straw, Cassian, even though internalizing the sins, uses a kind of medical model of sin as sickness; coupled with the extreme asceticism of his monastic spirituality, the fear of any small expression of desire as setting lose the unrestrained desire for more (*pleonexia*), the sins also take on the character of demons, spirits, forces which come in to take over the soul.[14] The second assumption is that the goal of moral life is not Aristotelian moderation but asceticism, the rejection of the body, the world and its pleasures. This view comes from the use of the notion of the seven sins in early Christian monastic practice, again expressed in Cassian, according to Straw, but also to a lesser degree in Gregory the Great.[15]

Another important tradition in elaboration of the sins is the strategy of placing them in parallel with a set of opposing groups of sevens: seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, seven beatitudes, seven petitions of the Lord's Prayer. There are both formal and substantive reasons for this development. Substantively, the list of sins or vices seemed early on to call for a complementary list of virtues, a parallel appearing in the *Psychomachia* of Prudentius as the virtues are deployed in the struggle against the vices; Isidore adds this scheme to his version of Gregory's list of sins, which becomes a standard addendum to Gregory's list and is carried forward through the Carolingian period and beyond, according to Wasselynck.[16] The further elaboration of this basic parallel, opposing list of vices and virtues with, for example, the beatitudes or gifts of the Holy Spirit, Bloomfield roots in the medieval penchant for 'analogy and parallelism'; the multiple parallels are both supported by and give expression to the sense of the sins as in dualist opposition to the virtues and gifts.[17] We must think of these multiple parallels as expressions of larger trends in twelfth-century spirituality, with its emphasis on the symbolic as the source of intelligibility and meaning, an outgrowth of the doctrine of the multiple meanings of Scripture.[18] The parallel schemes are the twelfth-century version of the

13 Bloomfield, *Sins*, pp. 3–41, summary on pp. 40–1; Straw, 'Gregory, Cassian'.

14 Straw, 'Gregory, Cassian', pp. 40–5. John Cassian, *The Monastic Institutes consisting of On the Training of a Monk and The Eight Deadly Sins*, trans. J. Bertram (London, 1999).

15 Straw, 'Gregory, Cassian', p. 42. Straw notes the role of discretion in discerning the mean as it operates in both Cassian and Gregory, but that in Cassian the 'right amount' of food is the barest amount needed to sustain life: 'hunger must be constant: the monk must fast rigorously, and when he has eaten, it should seem as if he has never eaten at all'. Cf. Cassian, *Monastic Institutes*, pp. 73–4.

16 Wasselynck, 'Les "Moralia in Job"', pp. 8–9 and passim.

17 See Bloomfield, *Sins*, pp. 84, 93–4. Wasselynck cites several examples of these more thoroughgoing sets of parallels surrounding the vices, for example those in Alcuin and Rupert of Deutz. See Wasselynck, 'Les "Moralia in Job"', pp. 18–19, 21–5. I will briefly examine Hugh of St-Victor's *De quinque septenis*, in *Six opuscules spirituels*, ed. and trans. (into French) R. Baron, Sources Chrétiennes 155 (Paris, 1969), below, pp. 99–101 and Fig. 4.2, p. 106.

18 For the classic but still valid description of this aspect of twelfth-century spirituality, see M.-D. Chenu, 'The Symbolist Mentality', in *Nature, Man and Society in the Twelfth Century: Essays on New Theological Perspectives in the Latin West*, trans. J. Taylor and L. K. Little (Chicago, 1968), pp. 99–145. See also I. van 't Spijker, *Fictions of the Inner*

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more scholastic principle of *sufficientia*, according to which the list of seven vices (and lists of daughters of the vices) is justified as complete by deriving them from more basic principles, such as the psychological faculties. The sets of parallels popular in the twelfth century and earlier are mutually confirming of the truth and completeness of the individual lists, and, further, serve a mnemonic purpose.

In what follows, I argue that Aquinas's account of the sins shifts away from all three of these ways of approaching the sins, though to different degrees, and in ways that are not entirely expected. To this end, I lay out what I take to be the most striking features of Aquinas's account of the sins in the *Summa* and then consider whether and in what respects they show a further shift from the earlier tradition of the capital or deadly sins. I will consider first the relationship of the chief sins to Aquinas's account of passion and virtue; next, his account of how the capital sins engender further sins (these are the army of sins which follow the chief sins as generals in Gregory's account, which are then dubbed the 'daughters' of the capital sins); and, third, the relationship between the ordering of sins as capital and the ordering of sins in terms of gravity.

Passion, virtue and sin

The sins and the passions in Aquinas are connected not just because sin is defined as a disordered or disproportionate passion, but also because the spirit of exploration Aquinas brings to the passions is carried over into the discussion of the sins. I have argued elsewhere that what marks Aquinas's account of the passions is a determination to explain them rationally, to order them, show them as perfectly intelligible, natural and potentially healthy and virtuous responses to the world.[19] He argues, citing Augustine, that a passion itself is good if it turns to what is truly good and tends away from what is truly evil (*ST* [and passim] 1a 2ae, q. 24, art. 4, ad 2).[20] All passion is in some way reducible to the tendency of things to seek what is suitable to their nature; all are movements which presuppose a likeness or aptness to that toward which they tend (*ST* 1a 2ae, q. 25, art. 2; q. 26, art. 1; q. 27, art. 4). As a way of signaling his preference for this positive account of the passions structurally, Aquinas places first those passions tending toward good and, hence, the fulfillment of our nature – love and hope – rather than those passions which move us toward that which is unsuitable, i.e., evil, such as anger or sadness (*ST* 1a

Life: Religious Literature and Formation of the Self, Disputatio 4 (Turnhout, 2004).

19 E. Sweeney, 'Restructuring Desire: Aquinas, Descartes, and Hobbes on the Passions', in *Meeting of the Minds*, ed. S. F. Brown, Rencontres de philosophie mediévale 7 (Turnhout, 1998), pp. 219–37.

20 When Aquinas asks whether the passions themselves are morally good or evil, he argues against the Stoics and with the Peripatetics that passion is not an evil, a disturbance of the soul or nature, unless unchecked by reason (*ST* 1a 2ae, q. 24, art. 1).

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2ae, q. 25, 1–3). For the virtues and vices Aquinas also leads with the positive, ordering the vices *under* the virtues, always explaining the right response to a desirable object before moving on to the various wrong ones. Thus it is virtue that defines vices and vice or sin is subjected to the logic of desire and actions toward good and away from evil.

This structural principle is mirrored in the content of Aquinas's discussions, even as he first explains and derives the seven sins in the first part of the second part of the *Summa* (*ST* 1a 2ae, q. 84). These sins are called capital, he explains, not because they deserve capital punishment (i.e., not because they are mortal sins – though some are, at least in their genus) but in the sense that they are leaders or directors. They are the formal cause of other sins because their objects are the final cause of action; for instance, because money is the end of the avaricious man, he commits fraud.[21] While, of course, almost any sin can cause another sin in a particular instance, the capital sins do so in general because their objects are so intensely desirable; they are like addictions whose demands must be satisfied and, thus, lead to all kinds of other sinful behavior. The goods these sins promise (though it is a false promise), Aquinas argues, are the elements of happiness: pride promises perfection, avarice promises satiety and gluttony and lust promise pleasure. That gives us four of the seven. The remaining three involve not the direct pursuit of good, but evil for the sake of good. So anger seeks the evil of harming another for the good of vengeance; envy is sorrow at or avoidance of the good of another as harming one's own good of excellence, and sloth or *acedia* is sorrow or avoidance of one's own spiritual good because of the difficulty it involves (*ST* 1a 2ae, q. 84, art. 4). Aquinas actually gives two rationales for the first four of the vices. The first is based on the distinction of different goods, divided into those of body (gluttony, lust), external goods (avarice) and goods of the soul (vainglory). The second rationale, cited above, is more original and harmonizes better with Aquinas's rationale for the 'capital' character of these vices, based on their intensely desirable objects, objects which really do have an aspect of the good, even happiness itself.[22] This rationale also leads into the way in which Aquinas will arrive at

21 Cf. John of Rupella, *Summa de vitiis*, in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France MS lat. 16417, fol. 113vb, cited in Vecchio, 'Seven Deadly Sins', p. 119.

22 This mode of explanation echoes in an important way Boethius in the *Consolation of Philosophy* where Lady Philosophy explains that the vicious who seek riches, high office, and sensual pleasure are seeking things that are truly good, i.e., abundance or sufficiency, glory and pleasure. Boethius, *The Consolation of Philosophy*, Book II, prose 6, in *The Theological Tractates and the Consolation of Philosophy*, trans. H. F. Steward, E. K. Rand and S. J. Tester, Loeb Classical Library 74 (Cambridge, MA, 1973), pp. 208–14. For other examples of scholastic attempts to derive and justify the list of seven capital sins, see Wenzel, 'Problems', pp. 3–7. On John of Rupella's derivation, see his *Summa de vitiis*, fols. 113rb-va, cited in Vecchio, 'Seven Deadly Sins', pp. 118–19. See also Aquinas's other attempts at deriving the seven sins: *Scriptum super Sententiis Petri Lombardi*, Book 2, distinction 42, q. 2, art. 3, http://www.corpusthomisticum.org/snp2042.html, and *De malo*, q. 8, art.1, http://www.corpusthomisticum.org/qdmo8.html.

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his more detailed account of the individual sins defined as an immoderate or only apparent way to achieve a real good.

It is, moreover, the relationship to a good that makes sin intelligible in the first place for Aquinas. This becomes clear in the response to an objection to the notion of capital sins: because sin is evil and evil is the privation of order, there can be no leader or head, because that would imply an order of sin from the head to the members (*ST* 1a 2ae, q. 84, art. 3, ad 2). Aquinas's reply is that there is a kind of order among sins but it is not an order in evil per se, of the privation of sin which is a turning away from God, but an order in so far as sins are turning to a kind of good (*ST* 1a 2ae, q. 84, art. 3, ad 2). Thus sin is intelligible in terms of the good it seeks.[23]

When Aquinas asks for each of the vices whether it is a sin, the answer always involves some kind of qualification, that wanting whatever the vice generally seeks is not always a sin and might even under some circumstances be a virtue. We may expect this to some degree for gluttony and lust, as food is necessary for the preservation of life and sex for the preservation of the species.[24] But it is also true of his account of the other sins. Thus, for example, Aquinas carefully distinguishes the sin of anger from the passion of anger, which is not of itself blameworthy (*ST* 2a 2ae, q. 158, art. 1). Further, he points out that there is virtuous anger, a desire for vengeance regulated by reason (*ST* 2a 2ae, q. 158, art. 2). This is zealous anger and desires an excellent good: just or honest vengeance. Moreover, Aquinas maintains that anger is not always sinful against a number of objections about how anger is always sinful, that it blinds reason, that it is un-Godlike (because God always acts in tranquility) (*ST* 2a 2ae, q. 158, art. 1, ad 1–4).[25] Envy, of course, is always a sin but Aquinas takes care to distinguish it from other kinds of sorrow at one's neighbor's good. It is not envy when the sorrow is because that good of another threatens harm in some way (this is an effect of fear and may not be a sin). Nor is it envy when we grieve another's good not because he has it but because we do not (that is zeal and if about virtuous goods is praiseworthy because it moves us to acquire them). Nor is it exactly envy if we grieve another's good because he does not deserve to have it. Though Aquinas, unlike Aristotle, disapproves of this response, which Aristotle calls nemesis, Aquinas still distinguishes it from envy proper, which is a sorrow at

23 Cf. John of Rupella, *Summa de vitiis*, fol. 78ra, cited in Vecchio, 'Seven Deadly Sins', p. 111.

24 There are many discussions of Aquinas's views of sexual pleasure, both supportive and critical. For some of these, see J. G. Milhaven, 'Thomas Aquinas on Sexual Pleasure', *Journal of Religious Ethics* 5,2 (1977), 157–81. Milhaven lists a number of other commentators. See also the strongly negative assessment of Jordan, *Invention of Sodomy*, pp. 136–58. I am not concerned here particularly to approve or disapprove of Aquinas's views on such matters, though I think it worth noting that there are some ways in which I find his discussion of lust an anomaly compared to his discussion of the other vices. See below, pp. 95–6, for this discussion.

25 Aquinas concedes that God does not experience or act in anger, but he adds that is simply a consequence of his lack of a sensible appetite (*ST* 2a 2ae, q. 158, art. 1, ad 4).

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someone's good insofar as it surpasses ours (*ST* 2a 2ae, q. 36, art. 3). Avarice, like envy, is always a sin; nonetheless, Aquinas calmly places it in the context of exceeding or falling short of 'due measure'. The desire to have external things as a means to an end is natural and is not a sin as long as it is regulated according to a certain measure (*ST* 2a 2ae, q. 118, art. 1). In the discussion of vainglory Aquinas notes that 'it is not a sin to know and approve one's own good', or one's own good works. It is *vain*glory which is the problem, of which there are three types: seeking glory about what is 'frail and perishable', seeking glory from those of uncertain judgment and not referring one's glory to a 'due end' such as God's honor or the welfare of one's neighbor (*ST* 2a 2ae, q. 132, art. 1). Even sloth or *acedia* is reckoned a kind of sorrow and distinguished from sorrow as a real evil which, if moderate and not so overwhelming as to draw us away from good deeds, is not sinful (*ST* 2a 2ae, q. 35, art. 1).[26]

Here, I think, the accounts of the particular vices mirror the structure of placing the vices under the various virtues, because both indicate that there is, if you will, a right and a wrong way, a moderate and an immoderate desire with regard to the goods sought by the vices. In these basic definitions, we see, not just in form, i.e., organizing the vices under the virtues, but in the substance of his account of the vices, the degree to which the larger model Aquinas has turned to is Aristotelian in the notion of virtue as a mean between different extremes. What is interesting is that, nonetheless, Aquinas finds support for this way of thinking about the vices in Gregory, Augustine and other thinkers whose views we might think of as opposing his less ascetic, more Aristotelian account. So, for example, Chrysostom and Gregory (not Aristotle) are cited to support the view that anger is not always wrong (*ST* 2a 2ae, q. 158, art. 1, sed contra, ad 4). Jerome and Augustine are cited as noting that pride is not *all* desire for exaltation but only that which is inordinate (*ST* 2a 2ae, q. 162, art. 1, ad 1 & 2). Proverbs and Psalms are quoted describing the sorrow at another's good whose result is zeal and that which is motivated by fear (Proverbs 29. 2, Psalms 68. 10; *ST* 2a 2ae, q. 36, art. 2, ad 2, 3). And it is Augustine not Aristotle who is cited to support Aquinas's claim that sexual pleasure it not always sinful (*ST* 2a 2ae, q. 153, art. 2, sed contra).

There are, clearly, elements in Augustine and Gregory which make it possible for Aquinas to find in them support for his more Aristotelian view of sin and vice, yet we have to take such citations and their placements as strategic. This is especially true in the *Summa theologiae* where Aquinas is not redacting an actual disputation but simulating one he has the freedom to compose as he wishes. In this interweaving of sources, Aquinas crafts the impression that all these authorities are only apparently in conflict. Even when they are presented as disagreeing in the objections, insofar as Gregory or Psalms expresses a kind of Aristotelian view of vice or Aristotle a more patristic or ascetic one, the

[26] On Aquinas and sloth and his resolving of the tension between and uniting of the sin of *tristitia* in Gregory's list and *acedia* from Cassian's list, see Wenzel, *Sloth*, pp. 63–4.

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impression given, the one we have to think Aquinas intended, is of a seamless, though many-colored, garment. Of course, the strategy of displaying tensions and then harmonizing apparently conflicting authorities is not unique to Aquinas. It is traceable back at least to Abelard's collection of conflicting authorities in the *Sic et non* and is institutionalized in the university in the practices of commenting on the *Liber sententiarum* of Peter Lombard and of disputation.[27] What is noteworthy about Aquinas's deployment of authorities in the *Summa theologiae*, at least on this issue, is the way in which he often manages to cite authorities in ways which minimize the conflict between opposing traditions, in this case that of Gregory and the deadly sins on the one hand, and that of Aristotle on the other. The effect is to make the discussion focused less on who is on which side and more on the question at hand.

The daughters of the deadly sins

Besides this definition of each vice, carefully distinguished from virtuous dispositions and/or passions which they resemble, Aquinas also gives an account of what makes each of the seven capital sins 'capital' – its tendency to induce other sins. Aquinas uses different strategies to derive these traditional offspring, but in each case he takes what looks like a fairly unsystematic list from Gregory and attempts to make it logical and complete.[28]

The derivation of daughters of vainglory (disobedience, boastfulness, hypocrisy, contention, obstinacy, discord and eccentricity) is fairly typical. Since vainglory is an excessive desire for the effect of honor, glory, its daughters are the result of attempts to show one's excellence, Aquinas argues (*ST* 2a 2ae, q. 132, art. 4, 5). We can do this directly and either by words (boasting), by acts, true and novel (eccentricity), or by acts which are not really ours (hypocrisy). Or we can do so indirectly, by showing that we are not inferior to others, first in intellect (obstinacy – undue attachment to one's own opinion), then in will (discord – being unwilling to give up one's own will), in speech (contention – quarrelling noisily with others), or, last, in deeds (by disobedience) (*ST* 2a 2ae, q. 132, art. 5). For all the daughters of vainglory, Aquinas tries to make Gregory's lists exhaustive by defining the daughter sins in terms of a complete list of faculties and types of actions (intellect and will; speech and deeds) (*ST* 2a 2ae 132, 5).

The daughters of envy arise as beginning, middle and end of the progress of envy. In general, Aquinas explains, envy prompts one to do things to

27 See E. Sweeney, 'Literary Forms of Medieval Philosophy', in *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Spring 2008 edition), ed. E. N. Zalta, http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2008/entries/medieval-literary/ (accessed 14 January 2012).

28 In this sense, Aquinas follows Gregory not just in using his list of daughters, but also in taking up the notion that the list as Gregory gives it is complete. In contrast, Isidore of Seville gives a list of daughters, but notes that his list is not complete, that many other sins can result from any capital sin. See Vecchio, 'Seven Deadly Sins', p. 125.

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avoid the sorrow it brings or satisfy its demands. So, first, envy moves us to lower another's reputation, either in secret (tale-bearing) or openly (detraction). Having progressed in envy, if we have been able to defame another, we get another offspring – joy at the misfortune of another, or if we have been unsuccessful, we get yet another – grief at the prosperity of another. (This is not the same as simple envy because it is grief at another's prosperity notwithstanding one's efforts to prevent it.) And, last, the term of envy is hatred because, Aquinas explains, we hate what brings us sorrow (*ST* 2a 2ae, q. 36, art. 4). Significantly, in his discussion of hatred Aquinas notes that hatred is *not* a capital sin, not because it is not a serious sin (it is from more than one perspective among the most serious) but because hatred 'is not the first thing but the last thing in the downfall of virtue' (*ST* 2a 2ae, q. 34, art. 5).[29] In the progression of sin, one loses first the right love toward things 'less in accord with nature' and loses only last, Aquinas explains, that which is most in accord with nature, which is our love of what is good – the divine good and our neighbor's good.

In the case of lust, Aquinas organizes the daughters around the acts of reason (understanding, counsel, judgment and command) and will (willing ends vs. means), because, he argues, the intensity of sexual pleasure which moves the lower appetite so strongly disorders the higher powers of reason and will. With respect to understanding, which apprehends the goodness of ends, we have 'blindness of mind'. With respect to counsel, about the means toward the end, the result is rashness; judgment about what is to be done is disordered into thoughtlessness, and lastly reason's command of what is to be done is stymied and the result of inconstancy. In regard to the will, the desire for the end is inordinately fixed on pleasure for the self; hence, the result is 'self love' (as a sin and distinguished from ordered self-love) and 'hatred of God' because of God's forbidding of the pleasure. In terms of the means, lust moves one to replace ordered love with 'love of this world' and 'despair of a future world' (because one rejects the checking of carnal pleasure and thus rejects spiritual goods) (*ST* 2a 2ae, q. 153, art. 5).[30]

When it comes to lust, one could argue that Aquinas loses a little of his unflappable detachment as he repeats several times that the peculiar problem

29 I will return below (pp. 97–8) to the relationship between a sin as a capital sin and its comparative gravity. But as this example makes clear, capital sins are not the worst sins, at least not *qua* capital; and given that they are all about goods which are most naturally desired, which are most taken to be integral to happiness, they are more likely to be the start of the descent into sin rather than its deepest depths.

30 Cf. John of Rupella, *Summa de vitiis*, fols. 129vb–130ra, cited in Vecchio, 'Seven Deadly Sins', p. 126. John also derives the daughters of lust by their corruption of the various faculties, though slightly differently than Aquinas; thus, the corruption of reason by lust results in blindness of mind and thoughtlessness; corruption of the concupiscible faculty results in love of self, hatred of God, love of the world and desperation about the future and corruption of the irascible faculties in inconstancy and rashness.

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of this sin is the intensity of the pleasure it offers and that it more than other pleasures debauches the mind (*ST* 2a 2ae, q. 153, art. 1, cor & ad 1; art. 2, ad 2; art. 4, 5; q. 154, ad 1). Moreover, he makes the peculiar argument that because this activity is 'more necessary' (because it preserves the species) it requires more the order of reason and becomes more sinful if that order is forsaken (*ST* 2a 2ae, q. 153, art. 3). Aquinas does not claim that lust is the greatest sin but seems to say that in effect there is less leeway with regard to sexual pleasure, that anything at all that strays from the control of reason in this area is a sin (*ST* 2a 2ae, q. 153, art. 3). Finally, it is the only place I have yet found where Aquinas makes reference to the possibility that the devil may be at work in sin, though he does not say the devil is the cause of lust itself, but only of 'nocturnal pollution' (*ST* 2a 2ae, q. 154, art. 5). In such comments, Aquinas seems to reveal anxiety concerning sexual pleasure, connected with the way in which it seems to be beyond rational control and to bring about a kind of passivity that he, like countless other classical and medieval thinkers, finds unsettling. In this sense, it is in the account of the lust and its daughters that Aquinas comes closest to the more dualistic and ascetic morality in which the capital sins arose, echoing Cassian even more than Gregory.[31]

These passages deriving the 'daughters' of the sins are some of the most captivating in Aquinas's discussion of the sins. For they are, on the one hand, psychologically astute, very much an expression of insight about human beings and their foibles. On the other hand, Aquinas is clearly driven by the desire to harmonize with and support authority. He is equally driven by the truth about the topic itself and by concerns external to it. What is striking is his ability to accomplish both of these goals at the same time. Though it seems more forced in the case of the rationale for the daughters of the capital sins, more motivated by a desire to support Gregory's authority, it is worth noting that Aquinas uses the same kind of strategies to derive and order the daughters of the deadly sins which he uses to justify the division of capital sins themselves, as well as the cardinal and theological virtues and the gifts of the Holy Spirit. Aquinas's derivation of the daughters, like his derivation of the capital sins, attempts to harmonize two of the major methods of derivation and justification noted by Siegfried Wenzel, the concatenation rationale (showing how one sin results from another) and the psychological approach (connecting the sins to faculties of the soul and the possible objects of the appetite).[32] For the capital vices, Aquinas does not attempt to give a thoroughly genetic account, but he does do so for the 'daughters', though deriving that genetic account from the cascading effect of the sin through the various faculties, acts and objects of the human soul.

31 Cf. Cassian, *Monastic Institutes*, pp. 97–105. See also Straw, 'Gregory, Cassian'.
32 On these three modes of derivation, see Wenzel, 'Problems', p. 3.

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Orders of gravity and cardinality

Another sort of order that any reader of Aquinas on the sins cannot escape noticing is his endless concern to compare the sins in terms of their gravity. There are discussions of unbelief, despair, drunkenness, disobedience and anger, among others, as the worst sins, and discussion of the relative gravity of cursing, backbiting and tale-bearing, and of prodigality vs. covetousness, the unbelief of Jews vs. pagans, along with many more.[33] What is important about these discussions for my purposes is that the capital sins are not those that are the most grave. In the discussion of backbiting as arising from envy, Aquinas makes the point that a lesser vice can give rise to a greater sin; for instance, anger can give rise to murder and blasphemy. The origin of the sin, he explains, depends on its inclination to an end, i.e., what it turns *toward*; whereas the gravity of the sin is assessed in terms of the good *from which* it turns (*ST* 2a 2ae, q. 73, art. 3, ad 3). In terms of what he calls 'conversion' or that which the sin turns toward, pride is not the gravest sin, because what it desires, albeit inordinately, is one's own excellence, which is not, Aquinas writes, a good 'essentially incompatible with the good of virtue'. But in terms of aversion, what it turns *from*, it is the worst, because it is the aversion to God 'simply through being unwilling to be subject to God and his rule' and not merely by ignorance or weakness (*ST* 2a 2ae, q. 162, art. 6). In these two passages we see the scale of gravity diverge not just accidentally but directly from that in terms of which, for Aquinas, makes a capital sin capital. Aquinas argues, we recall, for the capital character of each of the seven sins in terms of the desirability of the object they seek (*ST* 1a 2ae, q. 84, art. 4). What a sin turns *toward*, the lesser, mutable good it seeks, is what makes it capital. Aquinas does argue, following Gregory, that pride is not merely capital but is the 'queen and mother of all sins'; however, Aquinas does not make this claim on the grounds of its gravity. Its hyper-capital character has to do with the good *toward* which it turns – one's own excellence, not that *from* which it turns – God. So Aquinas argues that our end in acquiring all temporal goods (thus for all the other sins as turning toward different mutable goods and avoiding of physical or temporal difficulties or losses) is pride, for what we desire is that 'through their

[33] See, for example, the discussions (all in 2a 2ae) attempting to order in terms of seriousness the unbelief of Jews vs. pagans q. 10, art. 6; cursing, back-biting and tale-bearing q. 73, art. 3; q. 74, art. 2; q. 76, art. 4; sins of omission vs. transgression q. 79, art. 4; officious, jocose and mischievous lies q. 110, art. 2; irony vs. boasting q. 113, art. 2; quarrelling vs. flattery q. 116, art. 2; prodigality vs. covetousness q. 119, art. 3; cowardice vs. intemperance q. 142, art. 2; the unnatural vice as the greatest sin among the species of lust q. 154, art. 12; incontinence vs. intemperance q. 156, art. 3; incontinent anger vs. desire q. 156, art. 4. Add to these the discussions of unbelief q. 10, art. 3; blasphemy q. 13, art. 3; despair p. 20, art. 3; hatred of God and neighbor q. 34, art. 2, 4; idolatry q. 94, art. 4; anger q. 158, art. 4; pride q. 162, art. 6; intemperance q. 143, art. 4; gluttony q. 148, art. 3; drunkenness q. 150, art. 3; fornication q; 154, a; 3; disobedience q. 105, art. 2; and avarice q. 118, art. 5, as most grave in one sense or another.

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means, [we] may have some perfection and excellence' (*ST* 1a 2ae, q. 84, art. 2; cf. *ST* 2a 2ae, q. 132, art. 4).[34]

It is hard to summarize the trends in all these discussions of gravity, but we can make a couple of observations. On the one hand, the concern to rank sins seems to be needlessly judgmental in the modern sense, and seems to mark Aquinas's willingness to include the kind of information those using other confessional manuals would have sought in his *summa*. On the other hand, Aquinas handles these questions in such a way as to reinforce his basic principles about the sins, that sins – and their gravity – are to be understood in terms of the good they seek, the worst sins being those which turn from the most basic and natural goods.

Dualism, parallelism and asceticism in Aquinas's account of the sins

Dualism

It is fairly easy to see a movement away from Gnostic dualism and asceticism in Aquinas's portrayal of the capital sins. The sins are not the emergence of evil in the world but are and are understandable in terms of a real, though limited, good they seek. There is no rejection of the body or its passions, for the sins are understood as passion gone wrong in opposition, not to the lack of passion, but to moderated passion in the virtues. There are no supernatural forces of evil at work in the deadly sins but the human soul's quite understandable but mistaken pursuit of a lesser good.[35] These principles are mirrored in the tone of Aquinas's explanations of sin. While Gregory describes the downward spiral of sin in alarming terms – the 'howling' of the sins, hurrying the soul toward madness, confounding it by a 'bestial clamor',[36] Aquinas is the voice of the unflappable clinician, shocked by nothing. Sure there is pathology, he seems to say, but we can parse it by understanding its evil in terms of good, goods turned toward and goods turned from. It is, in the end, an almost utterly naturalized picture of the vices.

This fits, I think, with what Aquinas sees as the pastoral role of the doctrine of the capital sins. Earlier patristic and monastic tradition seemed to use the account of the sins and their offspring as a warning; thus the description of the dehumanizing disintegration and degradation of the descent into sin is

34 Cf. John of Rupella, *Summa de vitiis*, fol. 114vb, cited in Vecchio, 'Seven Deadly Sins', p. 122. This is the same phenomenon made much of by David Hume centuries later. For Hume, pride, no longer a vice, is experienced in anything that gives us pleasure which we somehow associate with ourselves. David Hume, *A Treatise of Human Nature*, book II, sections 2–3, ed. L. A. Selby-Bigge, 2nd edn, ed. P. H. Nidditch (Oxford, 1978), pp. 277–82.

35 The exception on all these points, though I do not want to exaggerate it, is lust, as noted above, pp. 95–6.

36 Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Job* 31.45.90, ed. Adriaen, III, 1611; trans. in Gregory the Great, *Morals on the Book of Job* 31.45, III.2, 491.

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designed to frighten men and women from making the first step toward sin.[37] For Aquinas analysis of sin in terms of the capital sins tells us what good the sinner is turning toward, which, in turn, leads him or her into other, still lesser goods. This analysis tells us about the origin of the sins, not their gravity. Its value to the confessor is not juridical (in terms of meting out punishment and restitution) but forensic and therapeutic, a way of tracing back the sinful acts to their sources in the sinner's commitments. For Aquinas the capital sins, then, have a role to play in spiritual discipline and practice, not as a warning of the outcome of sin to be feared, but in the analysis and then purification of the affections. One must see first, in spiritual terms, where one's 'treasure is' – money, glory, pleasure – and then redirect one's heart toward true rather than false or apparent goods. One could argue that this is why Dante organized the *Purgatorio* but not the *Inferno* around the capital sins.[38] For Aquinas, as perhaps for Dante, thinking in terms of the capital sins is diagnostic; neither the sinner who has already descended the path into sin nor his confessor are helped by being repulsed by sin but should try to understand its logic and origins in order to reform its source. We see the same matter-of-fact tone in Aquinas's derivation of the daughters of sin. The descent into greater sin may not be pretty for Aquinas, but it is perfectly intelligible.

Parallelism

Aquinas explores the sins as anthropologist or scientist, not as poet. He does not, as Hugh of St-Victor does, for example, map the sins onto opposing parallel groups of virtues, beatitudes, or gifts. Aquinas's sense of order, like that of other scholastics, tends to mediate the relationship of sins to virtues (as well as gifts and beatitudes) by dividing them into groups via the division of the

37 I have by no means made a survey of this literature, but even in the short passage from Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Job* discussed above, we can see a tendency to paint the consequences of sin in images like those of a horror movie. See also Bloomfield, *Sins*, pp. 55–80, for some more examples.

38 In the *Purgatorio*, cantos 10–27 are organized around the purgation of the seven capital sins, beginning with pride, through envy, anger, sloth, avarice, gluttony and lust, the order given by Gregory. Dante devotes some cantos in the *Inferno* to some of the capital sins, lust, gluttony and avarice, most obviously, and some have argued that the rest can be found at least implicitly in Dante's scheme, but this is perhaps, as Reade argues, a stretch: W. H. V. Reade, *The Moral System of Dante's Inferno* (Oxford, 1909; reprint Port Washington, 1959), pp. 10–11. Reade criticizes quite strongly the solution of the nineteenth-century German Dante scholar Karl Witte who argued that some of the sins are not mentioned in the *Inferno* because they are only sinful propensities not actual sins, and that in the afterlife as in this life, it is deeds and not thoughts which are punishable. See Reade, *Moral System*, p. 19 and K. Witte, *Essays on Dante*, ed. and trans. C. M. Lawrence and P. H. Wicksteed (London, 1898), pp. 129–30. While I agree with Reade that Dante cannot have meant to exempt all thoughts and intentions from being mortal sins as Witte argues, I think Witte's distinction between a penal (*Inferno*) and remedial or purgative (*Purgatorio*) exploration of sin is useful here, for Aquinas at least, and perhaps also for Dante.

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human person into faculties, capacities and acts. Thus Aquinas derives the list of virtues, like the vices and the daughters of the vices, by considering the parts of the soul and their acts (intellect, will, appetite), inward vs. outward act, or acts of thought, word and deed. On the face of it, this method seems less fanciful, more rational and scientific than Hugh of St-Victor's marvelous little treatise on the 'five sevens', which maps the seven sins onto the seven petitions of the Lord's Prayer, the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, the seven virtues and seven beatitudes.[39]

Nonetheless, Aquinas's derivations of the offspring of the seven sins make Gregory's list seem almost *a priori* and exhaustive and make Aquinas's derivations not just of these but of the passions, virtues and vices seem more contrived, more driven by the medieval penchant for pattern and parallel – in other words, more like Hugh of St-Victor than like Aristotle or Hume. Aristotle begins with the moral intuitions embedded in language, in communal and cultural judgments of approval and disapproval for different character traits. Aristotle, of course, takes the first step toward systematization, tying the virtues to different emotions or appetites and the vices to excessive or deficient responses to them, but Aristotle reasons 'up', if you will, from the vice to its genus and species.[40] In form at least Aquinas reasons 'down', deducing the vices from the faculties, capacities and generic categories of acts.

Moreover, though those working on Aquinas's ethics tend not to read such passages, if we look at Aquinas's discussion of the gifts of the Holy Spirit and the beatitudes, we do find an echo of the parallelisms found in Hugh of St-Victor. Though Aquinas does not associate the seven sins with the gifts and beatitudes (or petitions of the Lord's Prayer), he does associate the gifts of the Holy Spirit with the beatitudes according to the Augustinian order also followed by Hugh. Aquinas also places the gifts under the virtues, though less neatly than Hugh. Two fall under faith (knowledge and understanding), and none under temperance; the gift of fear comes under hope; wisdom under charity; piety under justice; counsel under prudence; fortitude (or courage – the gift) under fortitude (the virtue). And he concludes his discussion of each virtue with the precepts for it, i.e., the scriptural command of the virtue or prohibition of the corresponding vices.[41]

Though the key has modulated, Aquinas's analysis, is, like Hugh's, motivated by a determination to see, or even create, order. There is, Aquinas seems

39 Hugh of St-Victor, *De quinque septenis,* p. 155. I am grateful to my colleague Boyd Coolman for bringing Hugh's little work to my attention. The association of the seven petitions of the Lord's Prayer with other Christian teaching or traditions also grouped in sevens is, of course, very common. See D. L. Jeffrey, *A Dictionary of Biblical Tradition in English Literature* (Grand Rapids, 1992), pp. 698–701.

40 See Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* II.7, 1107a27–08b11, trans. W. D. Ross, in *The Basic Works of Aristotle*, ed. R. McKeon (New York, 1941), pp. 959–62; cf. Aristotle, *Rhetoric* II.1–11, 1377b15–88b32, trans. W. R. Roberts, in *The Basic Works of Aristotle*, ed. McKeon, pp. 1379–403.

41 For a comparison of the sets of parallels in Hugh and Aquinas, see Fig. 4.2.

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utterly convinced, a superabundance of intelligibility, an order to creation and moral life that extends all the way to the depths of sin. As Bloomfield puts it,

> we must not think of this searching for parallels – the sevens piled on sevens, for instance – as mere perversity. Rather it grew out of a philosophic view of the universe not unlike what has dominated classical, Islamic, and Western civilizations. . .: out of a desire to find rational meaning for the apparently irrational universe. . .'[42]

Asceticism

While Aquinas (with the possible exception of lust) never wavers in his rejection of Gnostic dualism, his relationship to the ascetic aspect of the earlier tradition is more complex. He does not, of course, allow human beings simply to rest in the moral goal of Aristotelian virtue, always asserting an end beyond the natural end of human beings. His look beyond this world is often understated, but for all that stands out even more, like a splash of color in a black-and-white picture. One of these moments is in the lovely, spare derivation of the beatitudes in the *prima secundae* in which Aquinas connects his account of sin, virtue and beatitude. Beatitude or happiness, Aquinas begins, has been held to consist in three kinds of life, the lives of pleasure, moral virtue and contemplation. But for Aquinas, sensual happiness is false and an obstacle to beatitude; the active life is a 'disposition to future beatitude', and contemplative happiness is 'the very essence of future beatitude and, if imperfect, is a beginning thereof' (*ST* 1a 2ae, q., 69, art. 3). Thus the first beatitude rejects sensual happiness in the form of wealth or honor

> . . . from which man is withdrawn – by a virtue so that he uses them in moderation – and by a gift, in a more excellent way, so that he despises them altogether. Hence the first beatitude is: 'Blessed are the poor in spirit', which may refer either to the contempt of riches, or to the contempt of honors, which results from humility (*ST* 1a 2ae, q. 69, art. 3).

The second and third beatitudes address sensual happiness sought through the passions of the concupiscible and irascible appetites. The appetites are moderated by reason in the practice of the moral virtues but 'by a gift in a more excellent manner so that one . . . is altogether undisturbed by [the irascible passions]' and 'casts [the concupiscible passions] aside altogether; nay more, so that, if need be, he makes a deliberate choice of sorrow'. And so, in the second and third beatitudes it is written, 'blessed are the meek' and 'blessed are they that mourn'.

In the active life in relation to others we do our duty to our neighbor by the virtue of justice, Aquinas continues, but are moved beyond that by a gift to an 'ardent desire for justice'; hence, we have the fourth beatitude, 'blessed are they that hunger and thirst for justice'. We make spontaneous gifts to others by

42 Bloomfield, *Sins*, p. 94.

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the virtue of liberality, but by a gift go beyond that to 'consider only the needs of those on whom we bestow' our gifts; hence, we arrive at the fifth beatitude, 'blessed are the merciful'. The last two beatitudes pertain to the effects of the life of virtue and the gifts, perfected in oneself ('blessed are the clean of heart') and toward others ('blessed are the peacemakers') (*ST* 1a 2ae, q., 69, art. 3).

In this passage Aquinas uses one of the more traditional elements in the explication of the capital sins, parallelism, to articulate his version of an ethic that is a rejection of the worldly goods and virtues. Aquinas is moving beyond this world and the model of virtue as moderation just as surely as the desert Fathers, but he presents it here as a progression through and then beyond the stage of worldly virtue. The account of the beatitudes articulates a faith in the order of the moral world, as conveyed in Hugh's lists of sevens, and it also expresses the fact that Christian virtue is different from worldly, Aristotelian virtue. Wenzel notes that other scholastic authors, when confronted with the conflict between the scheme of the deadly sins (and, by implication, the parallels to the gifts of the Holy Spirit and beatitudes) and Aristotle's notion of virtue as the mean flanked by opposite vices, in the end stay with the Gregorian scheme, choosing, in effect, religious over secular virtue.[43] Aquinas, however, subordinates the sins to Aristotle's scheme but finds a way in turn to subordinate Aristotelian virtue to Christian virtue in the beatitudes.

Figure 4.1. The Placement of the Seven Capital Vices (and their Offspring) in *ST* 2a 2ae

The seven capital vices and the theological and cardinal virtues are in all caps; the capital vices and their daughters are in bold; the virtues – theological, cardinal and minor – are in italics.

FAITH
Species of Unbelief:
Heresy
Apostasy
Blasphemy
Vices opposed to gift of understanding
'Blindness of mind' (q. 15) (arising from **LUST**)
'Dullness of sense' (q. 15) (arising from **GLUTTONY**)

[43] Wenzel, *Sloth*, p. 66. See the commentaries on the *Sentences* by Albert the Great, *Commentaria in quatuor libros Sententiarum Magistri Petri Lombardi* in *Opera omnia* II, dist. 42, art. 6, ad 2, ed. E. Borgnet, 38 vols. (Paris, 1890–9), XXVII, 662–3, Bonaventure, *Commentaria in quatuor libros Sententiarum Magistri Petri Lombardi*, Book II, distinction 42, dubia 3, in *Opera omnia* (edn cit. above n. 5), II, 977–8; Aquinas himself, *Scriptum super Sententiis Petri Lombardi*, Book II, distinction 42. q. 2, art. 3, 6, http://www.corpusthomisticum.org/snp2042.html; and William of Auvergne's *De vitiis et peccatis* 9, in *Opera omnia* (edn cit. above, n. 1), I, 283.

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HOPE
Despair (q. 20) (deficiency) (arising from **SLOTH**)
Presumption (q. 21) (excess) (arising from **VAINGLORY**)

LOVE
Inward effects of love: *joy, peace, mercy*
Outward effects of love: *beneficence, alms deeds, fraternal correction*
Contrary to Love: **Hatred (q. 35)** (arising from **ENVY**)
Contrary to joy of charity:
SLOTH (q. 35) Contrary to joy about divine good: (Daughters, q. 35, art. 3: **malice**, **spite**, **faint-heartedness**, **despair**, **sluggishness in regard to commandments**, **wandering of the mind after unlawful things**)
ENVY (q. 36) Contrary to joy about neighbor's good. (Daughters: **hatred**, **tale-bearing**, **detraction**, **joy at neighbor's misfortunes**, **grief for his prosperity**)
Contrary to peace of charity:
Discord (q. 37) (in the heart) (daughter of **VAINGLORY**)
Contention (q. 38) (on the lips) (daughter of **VAINGLORY**)
Schism
Strife/Quarrelling (q. 41) (daughter of **ANGER**)
War, Sedition (in action)
Contrary to beneficence as outward act of charity: Scandal (other sins contrary to beneficence considered under justice)
Contrary to gift of wisdom: **Folly (q. 46)** (daughter of **LUST**)

PRUDENCE
Vices due to a defect of prudence and/or what is needed for prudence
Imprudence
Precipitation, thoughtlessness, inconstancy (q. 53) (arising from **LUST**)
Negligence
Vices opposed to prudence by resemblance
Prudence of the flesh
Craftiness (arising from **COVETOUSNESS**)
Guile (arising from **COVETOUSNESS**)
Fraud (q. 55) (arising from **COVETOUSNESS**)

JUSTICE
Sins/vices of involuntary commutation
Murder
Other injuries to the person: maim, strike, imprison
Theft, robbery
Vices consisting in words
In judicial proceedings
Injustice of a judge
Unjust accusation
Injustice on part of defendant, witness, counsel

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In extrajudicial words
- **Reviling (q. 72)** (arising from **ANGER**)
- **Backbiting (q. 73)** (arising from **ENVY**)
- **Tale-bearing (q. 74)** (not discussed as daughter of **ENVY**)
- Derision
- Cursing

Sins/vices of voluntary commutation
- Cheating in buying and selling
- Usury

Potential parts of justice (common aspect of what is due)
- Render something due but unable to render the equal of what's due
- *Religion* (render God due though not equal to what deserves)

Superstition (contrary of religion) (idolatry, divination, superstitious observances)

Irreligion (show contempt of religion) (temptation of God, **perjury [q. 98]** [arising from **COVETOUSNESS**], sacrilege, simony)
- *Piety to parents* (render parents due though not equal to what deserve)
- *Observance* (render honor to those excelling in worth)

Render what's due without which there is no moral rectitude

Obedience Disobedience

Gratitude Ingratitude
- *Vengeance/self-defense*

Truth (due to others to represent self to others as one is)
- Lying

Dissimulation

Hypocrisy

Irony

Boasting (q. 112) (arising from **VAINGLORY**)

Render in excess of what's due, which gives greater rectitude

Liberality

COVETOUSNESS (q. 118) (Daughters: **treachery, fraud, falsehood, perjury, restlessness, violence, insensibility to mercy**)

Prodigality

Affability
- Flattery, Quarrelling

Friendship (not discussed in 2a 2ae, discussion appears in part 1a 2ae, under the passion of love)

FORTITUDE
- Fear (deficiency)
- Fearlessness (excess)
- Daring (excess)

Parts of Fortitude (according to Cicero, substituting magnanimity for confidence)
- *Magnanimity* (hardship in great honors)

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Vices of Excess:
Presumption (excess in regard to the end: great deeds)
Ambition (excess desire for the matter: honor)
VAINGLORY (q. 132) (excess desire for effect of honor: glory) (Daughters: **disobedience, boastfulness, hypocrisy, contention, obstinacy, discord, eccentricity**)
Vices of Deficiency: pusillanimity
Magnificence (hardship in great expenditures)
Meanness
Patience (not be broken by sorrow)
Perseverance (not be wearied by difficulty)
Effeminacy/softness (deficiency)
Pertinacity (q. 138) (excess) (arising from **VAINGLORY**)

TEMPERANCE
Insensibility (deficiency)
Intemperance (excess)
Integral parts (concurrent conditions): *shamefacedness, honesty*
Subjective parts (species, on basis of different objects)
Abstinence (meat and drink)
Sobriety (drink)
GLUTTONY (q. 148) (excess) (5 species: hastily, sumptuously, too much, greedily, daintily. Daughters: **unseemly joy, scurrility, uncleanness, loquaciousness, dullness of mind**)
Chastity (venereal pleasure)
LUST (q. 153) (excess) (6 species: simple fornication, adultery, seduction, rape, and the unnatural vice. Daughters: **blindness of mind, thoughtlessness, inconstancy, rashness, self-love, hatred of God, love of this world, despair of future world**)
Potential parts (same mode in some other matter of restraint)
Inward movements
Continence – restraint of passion
Incontinence
Clemency (restraint in external punishment)
Cruelty
Meekness (restraint of anger)
ANGER (q. 158) (Daughters: **quarreling, swelling of the mind, contumely, clamor, indignation, blasphemy**)
Modesty in inward movements
Humility (restraint of movement of mind toward excellence; restraint of hope and daring)
PRIDE (q. 162) (queen of *all* the vices)
Studiousness (modesty in regard to knowledge)
Curiosity
Modesty in words/deeds (in games, play)
Modesty in outward attire

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Figure 4.2. Correlation of Virtues, Gifts and Beatitudes in *ST* 2a 2ae and Vices, Virtues, Gifts and Beatitudes in Hugh of St Victor

A. Thomas Aquinas

Virtues	Gifts	Beatitudes
1. Faith	1. Understanding	1. Clean of heart
2. Hope	2. Knowledge	2. Mourners
3. Love/Charity	3. Fear	3. Poor in spirit
4. Prudence	4. Wisdom	4. Peacemakers
5. Justice	5. Counsel	5. Merciful
6. Fortitude	6. Piety	6. Meek
7. Temperance	7. Fortitude	7. Hunger for justice

B. Hugh of St Victor

Vices	Gifts/Virtues	Beatitudes/Rewards
1. Pride	1. Fear/Humility	1. Kingdom of heaven
2. Envy	2. Piety/Meekness	2. Possession of land
3. Anger	3. Knowledge/Sorrow	3. Consolation
4. Sadness	4. Fortitude/ Good desire	4. Fullness of justice
5. Greed	5. Counsel/Mercy	5. Mercy
6. Gluttony	6. Understanding/ Purity of heart	6. Vision of God
7. Lust	7. Wisdom/Peace	7. Become children of God

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CHAPTER FIVE

A Fifteenth-Century Sermon Enacts the Seven Deadly Sins

Holly Johnson, Mississippi State University

The doctrine that Christ bore the sins of the world when he suffered on Good Friday finds tangible form during the late Middle Ages in a topos that connects each of the seven deadly sins with one of Christ's torments. The sermon examined here makes this topos its framework and elaborates upon it by connecting each deadly sin to another heptad: seven diseases that Christ miraculously cured. The symptoms of these diseases are in turn likened to events of the Passion: Christ suffered the symptoms of those who suffer from the diseases in order to cure the sins to which the diseases are linked. The sermon's primary concern is not to preach about sin; it is to make the Redemption a felt reality, something active and ongoing. The sermon creates a series of tableaux which incarnate an interior struggle. The central act of a body being broken on the cross becomes a multivalent drama in which the seven deadly sins are both embodied and redeemed.

The most common appearance the seven deadly sins make in late medieval Good Friday sermons is in a series of juxtapositions in which each deadly sin is paired with one of the torments Christ suffered during the Passion.[1] Although there is a well established tradition for what constitutes the seven deadly sins, the torments are conceived in different ways. They can be presented as generalized forms of suffering acting as inversions of the sins: Christ's humbling set against pride, his nakedness and indigence against avarice, etc. Or the torments can be described as the times Christ shed his blood, blood sheddings that cleanse each of the deadly sins. Or, and perhaps most popularly, the torments

[1] For a discussion of the seven deadly sins used as a unit in sermons, see S. Wenzel, 'Preaching the Seven Deadly Sins', in *Garden of Evil*, pp. 145–69. For a discussion of this topos as it is used in Good Friday sermons, see H. Johnson, 'The Hard Bed of the Cross: Good Friday Preaching and the Seven Deadly Sins', in *Seven Deadly Sins*, pp. 129–44. For Good Friday preaching in late medieval England, see H. Johnson, 'Fashioning Devotion: The Art of Good Friday Preaching in Chaucerian England', in *Speculum Sermonis: Interdisciplinary Reflections on the Medieval Sermon*, ed. G. Donavin *et al.*, Disputatio 1 (Turnhout, 2005), pp. 315–34, and H. Johnson, *The Grammar of Good Friday: Macaronic Sermons of Late Medieval England*, Sermo 8 (Turnhout, 2012).

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are comprised of individual wounds – the crown of thorns, the lance in the side, each nail that pierces his hands and feet. In each type, the torments are presented as logical counterparts to the sins with which they are paired, but that logic varies. Sometimes Christ's suffering embodies the sin's contrary virtue, as when he suffers humiliation as a way to conquer pride.[2] And sometimes he suffers the sin's *contrapasso*. Gluttony, for example, is often paired with Christ's tasting of vinegar and gall while he was on the cross. The connection between the sin and the action is found in the physical use of one's mouth: Christ must taste something repugnant because gluttons indulge in food and drink pleasing to the taste. The connections between wound and sin are often traditional and iconographic: the crown of thorns is connected to pride because pride is the root and queen of the other sins and the head on which a crown is placed is the source of thinking too well of oneself. Each example makes tangible a key aspect of the Redemption, that Christ bore the sins of the world when he hung on the cross.

While these juxtapositions usually appear within an individual section of a sermon, one early fifteenth-century macaronic sermon preached in England uses them to structure the entire sermon, each principal part governed by a different sin connected to a different torment Christ suffered on Good Friday. This sermon also connects the seven deadly sins to another heptad, seven diseases that Christ miraculously cured. The pairing is not unique. As Siegfried Wenzel notes, '[d]iseases form one of the two major images used for the seven deadly sins in "real" sermons of the later Middle Ages'.[3] Each sin is likened to one of the diseases, diseases that share 'symptoms' with the sin, physical symptoms in the case of the physical illnesses and spiritual symptoms in the case of the sins. The sermon in question here extends this comparison further by showing how Christ can also be said, by a certain similitude, to have suffered each of these physical diseases on Good Friday in order to redeem the sins to which the diseases are likened. For example, Christ suffered the symptoms of a fever – pain in his head, an increase of sweat and a need to abandon his clothing – to cure the sin of anger which is likened to a fever. Within each section the preacher includes a portrait of a particular disease, vivid details from the Passion narrative, Old Testament texts typologically connected to the Passion, and moments of devotional reverie. The sermon is a rhetorically sophisticated example of the way medieval preachers made use of popular topoi and popular categorizations, reworking and recombining well known material to create new sets of associations and images, and the ease with which preachers juxtaposed very different images for rhetorical effect. It also reveals

2 The contrary (or remedial) virtues are studied for the first time as a historical phenomenon in R. Newhauser, 'Preaching the "Contrary Virtues"', *Mediaeval Studies* 70 (2008), 135–62.

3 'Preaching the Seven Deadly Sins', p. 154. For a more general discussion of the use of medical language in preaching manuals from the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, see J. Ziegler, 'Medicine for the Preacher', in *Medicine and Religion c. 1300: The Case of Arnau de Vilanova* (Oxford, 1998), pp. 176–213.

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the medieval conception of sin itself as something tangible, intrinsically connected to one's own body: sin as a disease that deforms a person's interior the way physical disease deforms his or her exterior.

The sermon is extant in an early fifteenth-century manuscript that contains 62 sermons, preached between 1430 and 1436.[4] The manuscript is associated with a Franciscan friar named Nicholas Philip whose name appears at least 21 times throughout the codex.[5] Nicholas Philip appears to have been a friar of the convent at King's Lynn, but little else is known about him beyond what can be inferred from the material in the manuscript.[6] It is also not clear whether he is the collector of the sermons contained in the manuscript, their scribe, their preacher or their composer – or a combination of these.[7] The Good Friday sermon I will discuss falls near the end of the manuscript,[8] and, compared to a great number of macaronic Good Friday sermons preached in England during this period, it is relatively short, approximately 3400 words, although there are many places where the preacher simply notes the *exemplum* to be told with no extensive details. Since the extant copy is something of an outline in this way, the sermon could have been expanded considerably during delivery, depending perhaps on how much time the preacher was given to preach or the weariness or impatience of his audience.[9] Of course, some exemplary material

4 This manuscript, Oxford, Bodleian Library MS lat. th. d. 1, has been discussed by G. R. Owst, *Preaching in Medieval England: An Introduction to Sermon Manuscripts of the Period c. 1350–1450* (Cambridge, 1926; reprint New York, 1965), p. 59 and passim; A. G. Little, 'A Fifteenth-Century Sermon', in *Franciscan Papers, Lists, and Documents* (Manchester, 1943), pp. 244–56; S. Wenzel, *Macaronic Sermons: Bilingualism and Preaching in Late-Medieval England* (Ann Arbor, 1994), pp. 40–3, 165–73; S. Wenzel, *Latin Sermon Collections from Later Medieval England: Orthodox Preaching in the Age of Wyclif*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature 53 (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 95–9; and A. J. Fletcher, 'The Sermon Booklets of Friar Nicholas Philip', in his *Preaching, Politics and Poetry in Late-Medieval England* (Dublin, 1998), pp. 41–57. Two other Good Friday sermons from this manuscript are edited and translated in Johnson, *Grammar of Good Friday*, chapters 6 and 7.

5 Wenzel, *Latin Sermon Collections*, p. 96.

6 For a brief overview of what one may be able to infer about Nicholas Philip from the manuscript associated with him, see the entry for him in M. van der Heijden and B. Roest's online catalogue, 'Franciscan Authors, 13th-18th Century: A Catalogue in Progress', http://users.bart.nl/~roestb/franciscan/index.htm (accessed 21 December 2011). Van der Heijden and Roest use Fletcher, 'Sermon Booklets' as their primary source.

7 See Wenzel, *Latin Sermon Collections*, p. 97. The style of the sermons does not suggest a single author, and next to some of them appear other names – Melton and Holbeche – which may be the names of preachers or the names of places. Both Fletcher, 'Sermon Booklets', p. 47, and Wenzel, p. 97, believe that these names are more likely names of preachers, not places.

8 Oxford, Bodleian Library MS lat. th. d. 1, fols. 171r-173r.

9 As H. L. Spencer notes, *English Preaching in the Late Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1993), p. 92: 'excessive length was the worst fault a sermon could have: the *artes* contain repeated warnings against prolixity, while comments in the sermons themselves show that preachers had more than a theoretical awareness of the problem.' She

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need not have been written out in advance. For instance, at the end of the section on pride the sermon merely states, 'Here you can scold a number of men and women'.[10] At this point, the preacher might just have looked around the congregation to get his material. What the written sermon does record are the parts that the preacher presumably would not want to invent on the fly: the principal divisions, Middle English translations of Latin verses and the key points made in each part.

While fairly short and abbreviated in this manner, the Good Friday sermon is complete, having all the sections associated with the scholastic sermon,[11] including a protheme, an *introductio thematis*, the division of the material and seven principal parts. It also shares many features of longer sermons on the Passion preached in England during this period, managing to encompass in a relatively short space a great deal of material associated with – and perhaps expected on – Good Friday and to hold this material together on the framework of the seven deadly sins. Rhetorically, it moves from what appears to be dry scholastic logic to moments of high pathos. Its theme is Hebrews 12. 2, 'Sustinuit crucem confusione contempta' ('He endured the cross, despising the shame'), a verse that lends itself to the image that pervades the sermon: that of the suffering Christ enduring the sickness of sin. While the sins are presented as intrinsic to the pains Christ suffered, the sermon is less interested in preaching about sin than in evoking a powerful image of a body racked with pain. The sermon's primary concern seems to be to make the Redemption a felt reality, something active and ongoing, to which end each of its principal parts presents double portraits – a portrait of sin and a portrait of suffering – which are merged by way of a bodily disease.[12]

This Good Friday sermon is primarily an image-making sermon and begins in its protheme with a moralized picture of the kind we associate with Beryl Smalley's early fourteenth-century classicizing friars.[13] Moralized pictures are

goes on to say that 'the right length did not mean a specific interval of time, but the interval during which the audience is content to listen' (92). Judging by the length of some of the extant Good Friday sermons, Good Friday seems to have been a day on which audiences were expected to be content to listen to the sermon for a longer period of time than on other days.

10 'Hic potes notare contra quantitatem virorum et mulierum' (fol. 171v).

11 There is no scholarly consensus on what term to use for this sermon form. It has been called the 'thematic' sermon, the 'modern' sermon, the 'university' sermon and the 'school' sermon. For discussions of these terms and the form itself, see M. Rouse and R. Rouse, *Preachers, Florilegia and Sermons: Studies on the Manipulus florum of Thomas of Ireland*, Studies and Texts 47 (Toronto, 1979), pp. 84–6; H. L. Spencer, *English Preaching*, pp. 231–2; S. Wenzel, *Preachers, Poets and the Early English Lyric* (Princeton, 1986), pp. 61–2; and Wenzel, *Latin Sermon Collections*, pp. 11–16. I follow Wenzel in choosing 'scholastic'.

12 For a detailed outline of this sermon, see Appendix A. For the complete text, see Appendix B.

13 *English Friars and Antiquity in the Early Fourteenth Century* (Oxford, 1960), pp. 112–18, 165–83.

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descriptions of allegedly real images that existed in the distant past, images that give visual substance to abstract concepts. The moralized picture used in this sermon does explicitly what each principal part will do implicitly and is thus worth exploring in detail. The image is of the virtue 'humility', and, as is typical of these pictures, is given a classical origin – it is supposedly taken from the annals of the Romans – and a pretended physical history: it is said to have been a figure created on a golden table by Solon, the wisest man in Rome, and placed in the temple of Apollo. The image is of a man with his head and back inclined to the earth and with wings propping up each hand, each foot and his breast. On each wing is written a couplet setting out one condition of humility which is given first in Latin and then rendered into Middle English.[14] Each verse is then explicated by biblical stories. For example, on the wing holding up humility's right hand, the verse reads, 'Sum caro despecta, cutis hispida puluere tecta', which is then translated into Middle English as 'I am despysid as man for sake, / Curyd w*ith* erth to wurmys make' (fol. 171r) ('I am despised as a man forsaken, / Covered with earth for a worm's spouse'). This wing presents the first condition of humility, namely to think nothing of oneself, a condition given form not only by the verses written on the wing and presumably spoken by the suspended man, but also by the image evoked in these verses, the image of a forsaken man covered in dirt and wedded to worms. Through accretion, a concrete image of the abstraction of humility takes form, and each of the couplets evokes further images and actions that model humility, creating a cumulative portrayal of an abject man who grovels, weeps, feels old and dry, but is also meek and merciful. The overall image has very little to do with Apollo or classical Rome and is barely visualizable as it is described. But the fragmented portrait of a broken body evoked by this moralized picture creates a vivid sense of abject suffering, a prelude to the images of an abject and suffering Christ at the heart of the sermon. Similar to the portraits of the sins, the moralized picture makes concrete an abstraction. It is as if a personified humility had walked out on stage and presented itself bodily, both in its active and passive forms, like a living tableau: it hangs from its wings while simultaneously groveling in the dirt, marrying the worms, weeping, etc. Just as interior sin will later take somatic form by being likened to a physical malady, the virtue takes physical form. The moralized picture can thus be said to enact the virtue of humility: it is both static – an image created in gold – and active, a man forsaken, covered with earth, weeping, old. Such enactments unify this sermon.

The sermon is also unified by the topos juxtaposing the seven deadly sins and Christ's torments, 'Be a corown and a scowrge, w*i*t a speere, three naylys and a spounge' (fol. 171v) ('By a crown and a scourge, with a spear, three nails and a sponge'). The topos constitutes a very simple verse division, set out before the sermon proceeds with each of its principal parts. But the sermon is primarily unified by the pattern into which each principal part falls and the

[14] The Middle English verses have been edited by Wenzel as no. 23 in 'Unrecorded Middle-English Verses', *Anglia: Zeitschrift für englische Philologie* 92 (1974), 55–78.

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illusion this pattern gives that the sermon follows a sort of scholastic logic. The basic pattern consists of six steps:

1. the preacher connects a deadly sin with one disease;
2. he shows that Christ cured that disease;
3. he pairs the symptoms of the sin with the symptoms of the disease;
4. he shows how Christ suffered the disease symbolically;
5. he declares that Christ suffered the disease in order to cure the sin to which it is likened;
6. he links the sin to a specific torment.

For example, the preacher states that the human race was leprous through pride, paralyzed by envy, feverish through anger, etc. To show how Christ cured these diseases, the preacher cites a Gospel passage in which Christ miraculously healed a sufferer of that disease, giving just a few lines from the point in the story at which Christ performed each miracle. The preacher then establishes a likeness between the bodily illness and the 'spiritual feebleness' (*languor*), naming symptoms of the disease that are likened to 'symptoms' of the sin. For example, leprosy is likened to pride because as leprosy makes the flesh swell up, so pride does likewise; as leprosy takes away a person's voice, so a person does not deign to speak to others out of pride.[15] The preacher then shows how Christ can be said to have suffered each disease and lists three 'conditions' that a person with that disease suffers that Christ also suffered on Good Friday. The conditions are not equivalent to the symptoms linking the disease to the sin. In dealing with leprosy, for example, the preacher notes that lepers are observed with horror, fled from by people and despised by the wicked – and so was Christ.[16] Here, to show how Christ suffered these conditions, the preacher offers details from scenes of the Passion and verses associated with these scenes from both the Old and New Testaments – the central stuff of Good Friday preaching. The preacher then bluntly states that Christ therefore bore in himself this illness and did so to cure the sin to which the illness had been likened. And, by what seems like a sleight of hand, the preacher connects this 'cure' to the torment traditionally associated with that particular sin. Suddenly, it is not only or even primarily through suffering the conditions of the disease that Christ 'cured' the sin associated with that disease, but rather he is said to have cured the sin through a specific torment – the crown of thorns, the nail in the right hand, etc. The traditional pairing seems very much tacked on. The preacher makes clear why pride is traditionally associated with the crown of thorns, but this has not been his primary concern throughout most of this principal part; his concern

15 'Sicut lepra intumescere facit carnem, ita superbia intumescere, et sicut lepra vocem hominis aufert, ita superbia, quia si homo in superbia erigatur, vix sibi loquenti respondere dedignatur' (fol. 171v).

16 'Tres eciam condiciones in leprosis invenio que eciam fuerunt in Christo. Propter quas similitudinarie potest dici eam lepram habuisse, nam leprosi cum orrore conspiciuntur, ab hominibus fugiuntur, et a malis despiciuntur. Sic Christus' (fol. 171v).

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has been rather the image of physical suffering and its relationship to a spiritual disease, the exteriorization of an interior reality.

Although each part follows this pattern, the logic of each is difficult to unravel. Each part works by way of similitude, metaphor, biblical exegesis and narrative, built around the predominant image of Christ suffering. What seems like academic terminology and what David d'Avray calls the 'subdividing mentality'[17] are blended seamlessly with devotional language that evokes affective portraits of pain and disease. I will unravel two parts to show the way an image is constructed, the associative logic at work and the way the sins can be said to be enacted, given dramatic and tangible form.

The sermon's fourth principal part makes concrete the abstraction 'sloth'. The section begins by stating that the human race was feeble through sloth (*languidum per accidiam*), connecting the sin of sloth to the disease of feebleness. It then briefly relates the Gospel story in which Christ told a man who had been bedridden for 38 years to rise, take up his bed and walk (John 5. 5–9). The sermon then pairs weakness, the primary symptom of the feeble, with a lack of strength in doing good works, the primary symptom of the slothful. The sermon covers these first three steps quickly because the focus is not on the miracle but on the events of the Passion, which it 'reenacts' by demonstrating how Christ symbolically suffers feebleness. Three conditions of those who suffer feebleness are conditions Christ also suffered: the feeble make their caregivers weary, they cannot rise from bed and, after suffering their infirmity for a long time, they dry up.[18] Christ too made the guardians who crucified him weary; this is why they gave him vinegar to drink – to cause him to die more quickly.[19] We see here the sort of irony inherent in these comparisons. Christ was like a feeble man while he was nailed to a cross – a forced languor – and the soldiers who gave him vinegar are indeed his guardians, but a very different sort of guardian from those who 'guard' a sick man. The soldiers neither care for their ward nor is it necessary to guard a man nailed to a cross. And the Latin word used is not the same in each case: those guarding the sick man are called *ministrantes* and those guarding Christ are *custodientes*. The connection reveals an associative logic, associated in this instance not through language but through image. A man sick in bed depends on those standing around him for his food and drink, and they naturally grow weary of the task. People also surround Christ hanging on the cross; if he is to get anything, they must give it to him. According to the Gospel of John, Christ is given the vinegar in response to his thirsting, but in the sermon the focus is on the motives of the givers who are weary of standing around, a motive that is not recorded in any of the Gospels

17 *The Preaching of the Friars: Sermons Diffused from Paris before 1300* (Oxford, 1985), p. 177.

18 'Nam languidi eis ministrantes tedio afficiunt, de lecto per se non descendunt, et ex diurnitate infirmitatis exarescunt' (fol. 172r).

19 'Sic et Christus Iesus, nam primo tedio affecit sibi seruientes et eum crucifigentes, vnde vt quidam dicunt quod custodientes [. . .] dederunt ei acetum bibere vt cicius moreretur ne ab eis vlterius custodiretur' (fol. 172r).

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but is recorded in the *Scholastica historia* of Peter Comestor (d. 1179).[20] We have here the beginning of a portrait of sloth: the slothful are inactive, requiring the movement of others to serve their needs and they weary others by their inactivity. The second condition, that the feeble cannot rise from their beds, elicits a fascinating metaphor with a history of its own, possibly developed from the ancient understanding of the Passion as the consummation of a marriage between Christ and the children of Adam, the consummation taking place on the cross.[21] The cross thus becomes Christ's bed on which he lay and from which he did not descend no matter how provoked.[22] The *lectum* of the Gospel story from which the bedridden man is told to rise and which he is told to pick up and carry is now transformed into a *lectum* that Christ has already carried and from which he is now told to descend. The preacher connects this *lectum* to another biblical *lectum*, the *lectum* of Isboseth (II Samuel 4. 5–6), slain on his bed by David's henchmen (although the murder did not please David). By this exegetical reading, Isboseth becomes a type of Christ, the innocent man slain on his bed – only because the cross is taken metaphorically as a bed. The *lectum* has become a metonymy for sloth, a physical object that sums up the sin and, at the same time, it is a visual link between the sin of sloth, the disease of feebleness and the cross on which Christ hung. The third condition, that the feeble grow dry, elicits the shortest narrative but also a moment of heightened pathos and a deepened image of suffering. The preacher connects this condition to the Psalm verse, 'my bones are grown dry like fuel for the fire' (Ps 101. 4), and follows this verse with a devotional moment in which he asks how one can marvel that the sweetest body grew dry since Christ shed blood not only on the cross but also in prayer in the Garden of Gethsemane, the event that begins the Passion narrative as it is read on Good Friday from St John's Gospel.[23]

The section then ends, as do all the principal parts, by claiming that Christ suffered the conditions of this disease to 'cure' the sin of sloth, but it does not leave it at that. It attaches the torment traditionally associated with that sin, here the nail through Christ's feet, and states that he remained hanging on the cross with his feet pierced as a counter example to the slothful: while the slothful shirk their religious duties, Christ remains steadfast.[24] Being nailed to the

20 *PL* 198, 1632.

21 See M. H. Abrams, *Natural Supernaturalism: Tradition and Revolution in Romantic Literature* (New York, 1971), p. 487 n. 57; E. Auerbach, *Literary Language and its Public in Late Latin Antiquity and in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1965), p. 73; and L. Bolzoni, *The Web of Images: Vernacular Preaching from its Origins to St Bernardino da Siena*, trans. C. Preston and L. Chien (Burlington, 2004), pp. 98–9.

22 In some versions of this topos, Christ's cross as a bed is connected with lust. Cf. the discussion of Bonaventure's use of this image in Johnson, 'Hard Bed of the Cross', p. 135.

23 'Tercio Christus more languidi incepit arescere. Vnde in Psalmo, "Ossa mea sicut gremium arruerunt" [Ps 101. 4]. Et quid mirum si corpus id dulcissimum arruerat de quo non solum in cruce set eciam in oracione tantus sanguis effluxerat' (fols. 172r–v).

24 'Sic igitur patet quomodo Christus Iesus per quamdam similitudinem et proprietatem

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cross is now set forth as steadfastness, the 'cure' for the sin of sloth, although this is a different kind of cure from the 'cure' the sermon spent most time in this section expounding – suffering the conditions of feebleness. When Christ suffers the conditions of feebleness, he is literally bearing the sin, redeeming it in his own body. When he remains fixed to the cross, he exemplifies the contrary virtue for the sin of sloth, steadfastness. This one act of suffering must embody disease, remedy and *exemplum* – a heavy rhetorical burden.

An even more curious and rhetorically compelling set of associations occurs in the fifth principal part in which avarice is likened to dropsy.[25] The section begins by referring briefly to the account in Luke (14. 2–4) in which Christ heals a man with dropsy, and it then moves to dropsy's primary symptom – insatiable thirst – which the preacher connects to avarice: 'For you know that those with dropsy, the more they drink, the more they thirst. So also the avaricious, the more temporal things come to them, the more they burn with avarice. For those who drink from the water of avarice will still be thirsty.'[26] Again, the preacher gives short shrift to this comparison; it is not his primary concern. He moves quickly to the three conditions of dropsy that Christ suffered on Good Friday, in a 'certain likeness and appropriate characteristic' ('per quamdam similitudinem et proprietatem'): 'those with dropsy almost die of thirst, are extended like a drum, and at length are cut to pieces by a sharp iron implement (*acuto ferro*)'.[27] As he does in each principal part, the preacher limits himself to – or pushes himself to find – three conditions of the disease that he can link to Christ's sufferings. The first condition, that the dropsical almost die of thirst, is easily linked to one of Christ's seven words on the cross, when he said, 'I thirst' (John 19. 28). Like the thirst of a person suffering from dropsy, Christ's was a literal thirst; in the world of medieval devotion, it becomes a spiritual thirst for souls,[28] a point the preacher makes in a moment of heightened piety when he directly asks Christ the question, 'For what do you thirst?' and imagines Christ

languidorum habuit infirmitatem et hoc vt nos sanaret per clauum in pedibus ab accidia per languorem corporis designata, quia in cruce pendens contra accidiosos qui in Dei seruicio stare nolunt, permisit vt pedes sui perforati essent vt et ipsi accidiosi in Dei seruicio stare vellent' (fol. 172v).

25 According to the *Middle English Dictionary*, 'dropsy' in Middle English texts is figuratively connected to the 'insatiable' vices of pride and lechery, for each of which the *MED* offers one attestation. Avarice seems an even more apt vice to be likened to dropsy. For the connection between dropsy and avarice, see R. Newhauser, 'The Love of Money as Deadly Sin and Deadly Disease', in *Zusammenhänge, Einflüsse, Wirkungen: Kongressakten zum ersten Symposium des Mediävistenverbandes in Tübingen, 1984*, ed. J. O. Fichte *et al.* (Berlin, 1986), pp. 315–26; reprint in Newhauser, *Sin*, essay VII.

26 'Scitis enim quod ydropici quanto plus bibunt tanto plus scitiunt. Ita et auari, quanto plura temporalia eis aduenerint, tanto plus auaricia inardescunt. Qui enim de ista aqua auaricie bibent, iterum scicient' (fol. 172v).

27 'Quia ydropisi quasi siti moriuntur, quasi tympanum extenduntur, et aliquando ferro acuto precinduntur [*sic*]' (fol. 172v).

28 Cf. Ps-Bernard, *Meditatio in passionem et resurrectionem Domini* (*PL* 184, 744) and Ludolph of Saxony, *Vita Jesu Christi*, ed. L. M. Rigollot, 4 vols. (Paris, 1878), IV, 123.

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as answering, 'I thirst for true faith and the salvation of your souls. For I thirst more to free souls from the power of the devil than to be given or administered any drink for myself.'[29]

The second condition takes on a new character, as it associates a traditional metaphor – Christ's crucifixion likened to a *tympanum* stretched and beaten on Good Friday – with a form of dropsy called 'tympanites' because it swelled the body like a *tympanum*.[30] The association of the *tympanum* with Christ's crucifixion has its roots, like the 'bed of the cross', in patristic exegesis.[31] For example, Augustine interpreted the playing of the *tympanum* along with the *psalterium* in the Psalm (Ps 149. 3: 'laudent nomen eius in choro in tympano et psalterio psallant ei') as the doing of good works and, because something is stretched out (*extendere*) on both instruments, as a type of crucifixion: 'In the *tympanum* the skin is extended, in the *psalterium* the strings are extended: in both instruments the flesh is crucified.'[32] Augustine links this image to Christ's actual crucifixion only in a suggestive way; the individual Christian, in imitation of Christ, should take up his instrument and play it.[33] For Augustine the image of Christ being stretched out like one of the two instruments is therefore transferred to the individual Christian: 'Let him not abandon his *psalterium*, let him not abandon the *tympanum*. Let him be stretched out on the wood and dried from the desire of the flesh.'[34] Augustine takes this metaphor further when he then says, 'For the more the *nervi* ['strings, sinews, nerves'] are stretched out, the more keenly do they sound.'[35] What is suggestive in Augustine's exegesis becomes, in the later Middle Ages and for our preacher, a literal way of envisioning the crucifixion. The preacher echoes Augustine's last statement when he says, 'For the pelt of this drum is extended so far until it is

29 'Quid igitur scitis, bone Iesu? Cicio in veram fidem et animarum vestrarum salutem. Plus enim cicio animas a diaboli potestate liberari quam michi potum aliquem dari siue ministrari' (fol. 172v).

30 See *Lanfrank's 'Science of Cirurgie'*, ed. R. von Fleischhacker, EETS OS 102 (1894; reprint Millwood, 1973), p. 282; Newhauser, 'The Love of Money', pp. 321–4, with mention of the counterfeiter Adam of Brescia in Dante, *Inferno*, canto 30, whose skin is stretched as tight over his dropsical belly as the leather head of a drum.

31 See J. Marrow, *Passion Iconography in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages and Early Renaissance: A Study of the Transformation of Sacred Metaphor into Descriptive Narrative*, Ars Neerlandica 1 (Kortrijk, 1979), pp. 124–5. He cites part of Augustine's commentary on Ps 149. 3 in p. 304 n. 507.

32 Augustine of Hippo, *Enarrationes in Psalmos 141–150*, ed. F. Gori, CSEL 95/5 (Vienna, 2005), p. 279: 'Et ipsum mysterium tympani et psalterii non est tacendum. In tympano corium extenditur, in psalterio chordae extenditur: in utroque organo caro crucifigetur.'

33 Ibid.: 'Ipsum psalterium vel tympanum te vult tollere, qui amat canticum novum, qui te docet quando tibi dicit: *Qui vult esse meus discipulus, abneget semetipsum, et tollat crucem suam, et sequatur me* [Matthew 16. 24].'

34 Ibid.: 'Non dimittat psalterium suum, non dimittat tympanum: extendatur in ligno, et siccetur a concupiscentia carnis.'

35 Ibid.: 'Nervi quanto plus fuerint extenti, tanto acutius sonant.'

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ruptured in many places.'[36] Whereas Augustine stresses the music one plays when one is 'stretched out' on the metaphorical cross, the fifteenth-century preacher emphasizes the literal pain Christ felt when he was stretched out on the cross the way the skin is stretched out on the *tympanum*. The preacher evokes both the passage from Augustine and the later tradition that grew out of this exegesis – that the holes for the nails had been placed too far apart so Christ's limbs had to be yanked forcefully to make them reach them, which caused his nerves and his veins to rupture.[37] Augustine's exegesis of this verse is closer to the realm of poetry; the later Middle Ages transformed this poetry into literal fact. The *tympanum*, associated both with the disease of dropsy and with Christ's crucifixion, allows for an intriguing merging of two metaphoric lexicons: the medical lexicon used to describe a form of a disease, which over time lost its original metaphoric associations, and the exegetical lexicon that grew out of exegetical readings of the Psalms and other Old Testament passages in light of the Passion, which also over time lost its metaphoric resonance.[38] The metaphor and its associations with a form of dropsy allow the preacher to set forth, even if in only a sketchy way, another scene from the Passion narrative – the stretching and nailing to the cross – and to make this scene more tangible by its association with a painful form of dropsy.

Following the second condition, the preacher introduces another biblical *tympanum*, the one played by Mary the prophetess to celebrate the crossing of the Red Sea (Exodus 15. 20–1). And here we see another example of the associative logic so typical of this sermon. The preacher allegorizes this story by seeing Mary as the type of the devout soul who took its drum and sang when 'it looked with a devout mind on Christ as a drum extended on the cross'.[39] As in the case of Isboseth as a type of Christ because his literal bed is linked to Christ's metaphorical bed, Mary with her literal *tympanum* becomes a type of the devout soul with its metaphorical *tympanum* who reveals its devotion to the crucified Christ, stretched on the cross like a *tympanum*, by metaphorically playing its *tympanum*. The connection is made by means of the word and image of the *tympanum*, as it was in the fourth principal part by the image of the *lectum*, but the links between these *tympana* are even more far-reaching. The image of the *tympanum* associated with a form of dropsy merges with the

36 'Nam in tantum pellis istius tympani extendebatur quousque in locis pluribus rumpebatur' (fol. 172v).

37 Cf. Ludolph of Saxony, *Vita Jesu Christi*, IV, 96.

38 For a discussion of this process, see F. P. Pickering, *Literature and Art in the Middle Ages* (Coral Gables, 1970), chap. IV, who shows the process by means of the Old Testament *cythara*; J. Marrow, '*Circumdederunt me canes multi*: Christ's Torments in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages and Early Renaissance', *Art Bulletin* 59 (1977), 167–81; and Marrow, *Passion Iconography*. For the cross-harp metaphor in late medieval sermons, see H. Johnson, 'God's Music-Making: The Cross-Harp Metaphor in Late-Medieval Preaching', *Medieval Perspectives* 22 (2007 [2011]), 48–59.

39 'Per Mariam intelligo animam deuotam que tunc cum Maria tympanum sumpsit et precinuit cum Christum quasi tympanum in cruce extensum mente deuota conspicit et ex tali beneficio exhillarita in mensas Deo gracias reddidit' (fol. 172v).

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image of Christ stretched on the cross and beaten which then merges with the image of Mary beating her *tympanum* in celebration for the crossing of the Red Sea which merges with the image of a soul devoutly contemplating Christ crucified and 'beating its *tympanum*' by giving joyful thanks at the altar, and thus, the preacher implies, celebrating its freedom from slavery to sin the way the Israelites celebrated their freedom from slavery to the Egyptians. The *tympanum* is associated with disease, torture, celebration and devotion – again, a heavy rhetorical burden for one image to bear, although the preacher makes these associations appear natural and even inevitable.

The final condition, namely that the dropsical are pierced with iron (*ferrum*), dramatizes Christ's suffering even more vividly for a medieval audience, for it is probably referring to a surgical procedure dropsical patients underwent (no doubt as a last resort), during which the 'siphac' (peritoneum) was pierced with 'iren'[40] to draw out the water.[41] This must have been a very painful and frightening procedure, even if its purpose was curative.[42] The image of this procedure may well have made the image of Christ's suffering (although he was pierced with the lance after his death) that much more visceral. It certainly may have brought his suffering closer to home; an audience member need only witness such a procedure – or perhaps any surgical procedure performed during that period – to empathize with the excruciating pain the patient must have experienced. Both surgical procedure and Christ's piercing with the lance are ultimately salvific, however painful, violent and invasive they are at the moment. The association works on a physical and doctrinal level, thus further dramatizing Christ's redemptive Passion and death. Such a clever set of associations allows the preacher to work in scenes from the Passion, to paint painful images both of the disease and Christ's suffering, and to augment the larger meaning and purpose of this suffering.

But what has become of avarice, the sin for which Christ suffers the conditions of dropsy? As in the other principal parts, it returns at the end, even more abruptly than sloth, when it is juxtaposed with the torment with which it was traditionally associated, the nail in one of the hands, in this case the left one. Here the preacher makes clear (something he does not always do) why the hand is associated with avarice: 'because first the avaricious, as it were, gather many things unjustly with the left hand and then bind them strongly to themselves as if by hand'.[43] Avarice is evoked by the simple actions of grabbing and clutching; therefore, Christ must feel the pain in his left hand to 'heal' this sin. The connections of avarice and Christ's suffering with dropsy were complex and somewhat tenuous, but they served to make of the sin and

40 *Lanfrank's 'Science of Cirurgie'*, p. 286.

41 Cf. ibid., p. 287.

42 Lanfrank recommends (ibid.) that the patient be held down by strong men to keep him or her from moving.

43 '[. . .] quia isti auari primo quasi manu sinistra multa iniuste colligent, et tunc ea quasi manu fortiter apud se stringunt' (fol. 172v). For the connection between avarice and hand movements, see Newhauser, *Greed*, pp. 82, 136.

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the suffering something dramatic and visceral. The static wound in the left hand connects Christ's suffering to the simple actions of taking and holding, actions by which avarice manifests itself, thereby reducing avarice to its lowest common denominator. But this reduction also presents a larger portrait of the sin itself, which serves to frame this principal part. Avarice began, in its connection to dropsy, as the insatiable thirst for material goods; it ends as the unjust accumulation and hoarding of those goods. The sermon enacts the sin by exteriorizing both the psychological disposition of the avaricious and the manifestation of this disposition, summed up in the simple actions the avaricious perform with their hands. The wound in the left hand forges an even more intimate connection with each member of the audience than the disease of dropsy: while not everyone may have undergone or witnessed a painful surgical procedure, surely everyone has a left hand with which he or she takes things and holds onto them or gives them away.[44]

In these examples of sloth and avarice we find the preacher drawing upon a wide range of connections to create a sense of logical inevitability and a scene of affective intensity. Immobility is presented as both sloth and its antithesis – steadfastness of purpose – when in the event it is neither of these but a torment inflicted on Christ. The cross is transformed into a *lectum* and further transformed into a symbol of fixity. The very cross that acted as a bed becomes that on which Christ is literally transfixed. Christ's suffering is the remedy for sloth, the exterior manifestation of sloth (so that he literally bears the sin in his body) and an example of the contrary virtue – all through the same act of hanging on the cross. The same *tympanum* that is exegetically related to Christ's being stretched out and beaten on the cross is made to represent the celebration of and devotion to this event. The events of the Passion are not told chronologically, nor need be. The preacher brings in the shedding of blood in the Garden of Gethsemane after relating Christ's shedding of blood on the cross. He brings in Christ's extension on the cross after he relates one of Christ's words on the cross. For a medieval audience, the events all happen simultaneously; they are ongoing events as is represented by the Good Friday liturgy itself during which Christ's redemptive act is reenacted. But working them into the scheme established in this sermon often results in some rather whimsical connections, as when Isboseth becomes a type of Christ because he was innocently slain on his bed and Mary playing her *tympanum* becomes a type of the devout soul because the *tympanum* is related both to a form of dropsy and to the crucifixion. The dominant concern is not logical; it is affective. The sermon creates a series of tableaux, however malleable or shifting, which incarnate an interior struggle, leaving a lasting impression of bodily suffering and spiritual healing. The central act of a body being broken on the cross becomes a multivalent drama in which the seven deadly sins are both embodied and redeemed.

44 For a more detailed analysis of the way this form of the topos works, see Johnson, 'Hard Bed of the Cross', pp. 136–8.

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Appendix A

Outline of *Sustinuit crucem confusione contempta* (Hebrews 12. 2)
(Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Lat. th. d. 1, fols. 171r–173r)

Protheme
Moralized picture of humility
1st condition of humility: to think nothing of oneself:
'I am despysid as man for sake, / Curyd with erth to wurmys make.'
2nd condition of humility: to weep for one's sins:
'Myn synne I morne with wepyng eye. / Gylty wreche mercy now I crye.'
3rd condition of humility: not to be proud of the gifts one is given:
'I am a sowl baryn and seer. / Myn medil age desyuyth me here.'
4th condition of humility: prudently to obey commands:
'Meke I am, suet I xall be, / Nowt deme, troste, gefe, and bye þe.'
Concluding verse:
'See þus I am peyntyd her, / Meke byddyng to doon in all maner.'

Introductio thematis
Story from Julius the Sixth about a common man who, when made a consul, responded in three physical ways described by three on-looking philosophers:
'He was frozen for a long time; now he melts with the new sun.'
'He sweats; he cannot bear such great labors.'
'He washes himself so that he may see himself more clearly clad in purple.'
The story is moralized, and each description is shown to correspond to Christ.

Division
Includes *distinctio* confirming two parts of the *thema*.
Shows how humility is against pride and how Christ bore our infirmities.
Connects seven spiritual maladies to seven bodily maladies that Christ cured.
Connects each sin to one of Christ's torments, ending with the Middle English verse division: 'Be a corown and a scowrge wit a speere, three naylys and a spounge' (fol. 171v).

First Principal Part: Pride
The human race was leprous through pride.
Christ cured a leper (Matt. 8. 2–3).
Two symptoms of leprosy that pride shares:
Leprosy makes the flesh swell up.
Leprosy takes away a person's voice.
Three conditions of leprosy and the ways Christ suffered these conditions on Good Friday:
Lepers are observed with horror: the Jews observed Christ with horror when they handed him over to death.
People flee from lepers: Christ's disciples fled from him when the Jews seized him.

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Lepers are despised by the wicked: the Jews and Judas hated Christ and his disciples withdrew from him.
Therefore Christ bore in himself this illness to cure the sin of pride.
He cured pride by means of the crown of thorns.

Second Principal Part: Envy
The human race was paralyzed by envy.
Christ cured a paralytic (Matt. 9. 2–6).
Paralysis takes away movement from the senses as envy takes away the movement of charity towards one's neighbors and the sense of truth from the intellect.
Three places where paralysis shows itself and how Christ similarly suffered a kind of paralysis in the same three places:
In the feet: Christ almost fell when he was assailed by harsh blows.
King David as figure of Christ falling (I Sam. 21. 12–13).
In the hand: Christ was bound and pierced with nails through the hands.
Achior as a figure of Christ bound (Judith 6. 9).
In the head: Christ breathed out his spirit with head inclined.
Christ bore in himself the infirmity of paralysis to heal us from envy.
He cured envy by way of the lance in his side.

Third Principal Part: Anger
The human race was feverish through anger.
Christ cured a man's son from fever (John 4. 52).
Anger, like a fever, heats the entire person and lights a fire.
Three conditions of those suffering from a fever and how Christ suffered those same conditions:
The feverish feel pain in their heads: Christ's head was struck with blows, defiled by spit, struck by a reed and crowned with thorns.
The feverish emit an increase in sweat: Christ agonized for us and sweated blood.
The feverish frequently abandon their clothes: Christ hung naked from the cross.
Christ endured these conditions to heal us from anger.
He healed this sin by enduring the nail in his right hand.

Fourth Principal Part: Sloth
The human race was feeble through sloth.
Christ cured the man who had been bedridden for 38 years (John 5. 5–9).
The slothful, like the feeble, are too weak to do good works.
Three conditions of the feeble that Christ also suffered:
The feeble inflict tedium on their caregivers: Christ, hanging on the cross, inflicted tedium on his guardians who gave him vinegar to make him die more quickly.
The feeble cannot descend from bed by themselves: Christ could not descend from the bed of the cross until Joseph brought him down.
Isboseth as figure of Christ on bed of the cross (II Sam. 4. 5).
From the length of the infirmity, the feeble dry up: Christ's blood flowed not only on the cross but also in prayer.
Christ endured these conditions to heal us from sloth.
He healed us from sloth by suffering the nail through his feet.

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Fifth Principal Part: Avarice

The human race was dropsical through avarice.
Christ cured a man suffering from dropsy (Luke 14. 2–4).
The dropsical are like the avaricious because, no matter how much they drink, they are always thirsty.
Three conditions of those with dropsy that Christ also suffered:
The dropsical almost die of thirst: Christ cried out from the cross, 'I thirst'.
The dropsical are extended like a drum: Christ was extended on the cross like a drum.
Mary and her drum as figures for the devout soul (Exod. 15. 20–1).
The dropsical are finally pierced by a sharp sword: Christ was pierced by the lance.
Christ suffered these conditions to cure us from avarice.
He cured us through the nail in the left hand.

Sixth Principal Part: Gluttony

The human race was insane through gluttony and drunkenness.
Christ cured a man's son who was suffering from lunacy (Matt. 17. 14–17).
Drunks and gluttons are like lunatics because they move too quickly and lose their step and their sense.
Three conditions lunatics suffer that Christ also suffered:
Lunatics put themselves on the precipice: Christ put himself on the precipice for us, immersing himself deeply in the waters of anguish and tribulation.
Jonah as a figure for Christ when Jonah asked to be put into the sea (Jonah 1. 12).
Saliva runs through a lunatic's beard: saliva ran through Christ's beard when the Jews spat in his face.
Lunatics frequently emit sounds: Christ cried out in a loud voice when he sent forth his spirit.
He endured these conditions to cure us from gluttony.
He did so by the sponge in his mouth.

Seventh Principal Part: Lust

The human race had blood flowing through lust.
Christ cured a woman troubled for twelve years by an issue of blood (Matt. 9. 20–2).
Just as that condition is shamefaced, so is lust, and as that infirmity almost entirely annihilates and consumes a person, so does lust.
Three conditions of those who lose blood that Christ also suffered:
They emit blood: Christ emitted blood from his head, his hands, his feet and his side.
They lose beauty: Christ had no beauty in him as it is said in Isaiah 53 ('There is no beauty in him, or comeliness').
They feel interior torments: Christ had interior blood flowing from grief for human ingratitude.
He suffered these conditions to cure us from lust.
He was scourged in all his body to cure us from the carnal vice of lust.

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Appendix B

Sustinuit crucem confusione contempta [Heb. 12. 2].
From Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Lat. th. d. 1, fols. 171r-173r

Textual emendations appear in angled bracket (< >); editorial comments in square brackets ([ ]).

[Protheme]
[fol. 171r] *Sustinuit crucem confusione contempta*, Hebreos 12.[45] Karissimi, inter omnia annualia Romanorum habetur quod Rome inventa fuit vna mensa aurea. Consulebatur Appollo cui esset tribuenda. Respondit quod sapienciori daretur et secundum decretum Apollinis dabatur Solon. Hic accepit mensam et in ea depinxit ymaginem humilitatis et eam tunc templo Apolinis collocauit ad perpetuam humilitatis memoriam. Erat autem hic pictura ymago hominis cum capite et dorso versus terram inclinatis eo quod humilia respicit et non alta, id est, superbia. Due autem manus fulciebantur duabus alis et duo pedes duabus alis. Similiter eciam pectus ala vna. In ala dextere manus erat scriptum, 'Sum caro despecta, cutis hispida puluere tecta':[46]

> I am despysid as man for sake,
> Curyd with erth to wurmys make.

Vnde hec prima condicio humilitatis, scilicet, reputare nichil de seipso. Exemplum de Dauid, primo Regum 18, qui dixit, 'Ego sum pauper et tenuis.'[47] In ala sinistris manus erat scriptum, 'Conscia deploro, veniam rea criminis oro':

> Myn synne I morne with wepyng eye.
> Gylty wreche mercy now I crye.

Et hec secunda condicio humilitatis propria peccata deflere. Exemplum de bono Petro et Maria Magdalena. In ala dextri pedis scriptum erat, 'Sum mens inculta, mea recipit[48] etas adulta':

> I am a sowl baryn and seer.
> Myn medil age desyuyth me here.

Et hec tercia condicio humilitatis non superbire de graciis sibi datis. Exemplum de Ieremia qui cum mitteretur a domino ad predicandum dixit, 'Domine, nescio loqui quia puer ego sum.'[49] In ala sinistris pedis scriptum erat, 'Sum pia, dulcis ero, non iudico, do, luo, spero':

45 Heb. 12. 2.
46 Both Middle English and Latin couplets are given as No. 23 in Wenzel, 'Unrecorded Middle English Verses', *Anglia* 92 (1974), 63.
47 I Reg. 18. 23.
48 recipit] MS decipit.
49 Jer. 1. 6.

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Meke I am, suet I xall be,
Nowt deme, troste, ȝefe, and bye þe.

Et hec est quarta condicio humilitatis, scilicet prouide obedire preceptis. Exemplum. Set in ala pectoris sic scribebatur, 'Sic sum depicta; cito persequar hec pia dicta':

Se þus I am peyntyd her,
Meke byddyng to doon in all maner.

Et sic rediit ad propositum themata, scilicet, 'Sustinuit crucem confusione contempta.'

[*Introductio thematis*]
'Sustinuit crucem confusione contempta.' Anglice: 'þe cros of pynnyng suffrende schame and despysyng.' Karissimi, narrat Sixtus Iulius libro 29, quod erat quidam plebanus qui de consilio in consulem est electus.[50] Ille autem cogitans de dignitate sua et reputans se indignum et quoad regimen populi insufficientem, in lacrimas perupit, quem aspicientes tres philosophi eum deridentes singillatim eum describere ceperunt. Primus dixit, 'Congellatus est per longa tempora, iam nouo sole liquescit.' Secundus dixit, 'Sudat, non potest sustinere laboris magnos.' Et tercius dixit, 'Lauat se vt limpidius videat se purpuratum.' Nota: iste plebanus est Christus qui non solum velit esse de plebe pro nobis set contemptibilem se fieri permisit. Psalmus: 'Ego sum vermis et non homo',[51] etc. Exaltatus est autem in consulem, vnde Augustinus super i<llu>d ad Hebreos, 'per proprium sanguinem',[52] etc., dicit quod Christus rex et sacerdos, rex pro nobis pungnauit,[53] sacerdos seipsum pro nobis optulit quod vt populum suum regeret. Exaltatus est quando enim crucem ascendit, tunc duxit populum suum in viam salutis. Descripcio primi philosophi potest sibi aptari, scilicet, quod Christus 'congellatur gelu, sole noue liquescit', penam pro nobis paciendo et Deo Patri nos reconsiliando. Tunc enim Deus Pater preuaricacionem primi parentis est placatus et per suam passionem nobis reconsiliatus. Vnde ad Ephesios secundo, 'Ipse est pax nostra que fecit vtraque vnum.'[54] Secunda descripcio sibi competit, scilicet, 'sudat, non potest ferre laboris.' Sudat, inquam, per cogitacionem mortis sudore sanguinis quia 'factus est sudor eius',[55] etc. Non potest ferre laborem secundum deitatem cum humanitate vnitam quia deitas nullam penam pati potuit. Tercia descripcio sibi competit, scilicet, lauat se aqua fluente de latere cum sanguine vt videat

50 I assume the preacher is referring to Sextus Iulius Frontinus's *Strategemata*, but I am unable to locate this story, nor does it sound like the sort of story found in the *Strategemata*.
51 Ps 21. 7.
52 Heb. 9. 12.
53 pungnauit] *sic*.
54 Eph. 2. 14.
55 Luc. 22. 44.

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se sanguinem purpuratum quia 'a planta pedis vsque ad verticem non est inventa in eo sanitas'.[56] 'Sustinuit ergo crucem', etc.

[Division]
In quibus verbis duo notatur, videlicet, benigna humilitas et subueniendi pronitas siue pietas. Primum notatur ibi, 'Sustinuit crucem' pro quo potest adduci i<llu>d, secunda ad Thimotheum: 'ideo omnia sustineo propter electos'.[57] Secundum notatur ibi cum conuectitur, 'confusione contempta' pro quo habetur Ioel secundo, 'non confundetur populus meus in sempiternum'.[58] Circa primum est sciendum [fol. 171v] quod in cruce est humilitas contra superbiam de qua humilitate in cruce habetur, Ad Philippenses secundo, 'Humiliauit semetipsum.'[59] Nam valde incredibile videbatur quod tanta maiestas ad tantam veniret humilitatem; ideo et mirando ait propheta, 'vere languores nostros ipse tulit'.[60] Valde languidum erat genus humanum, Ysaie 1, 'omne capud languidum',[61] etc. Vnde Ieremias clamat, dicens, 'Sana me, Domine, et sanabor',[62] etc. Fuerunt autem septem languores humani generis spirituales et signati sunt per septem corporales infirmitates quod Dominus curasse legitur in euangelio. Curauit enim leprosum, paraliticum, febricitantem, languidum ad piscinam, ydropicum, lunaticum et sanguine fluentem. In quibus septem significantur septem languores, septem capitalium vicorum quos Dominus sustinuit et abstulit ab anima et hoc per septem sue passionis insignia, scilicet, per coronam et lancea, per tres clauos, flagellum, et spongiam: Be a corown and a scowrge, w*i*t a speere, three naylys and a spounge.

[First Principal Part]
Fuit ergo primo genus humanum leprosum per superbiam. Matthei 8 scribitur, 'Et ecce leprosus veniens adorabat eum dicens, "Domine, si vis potes me mundare." Et extendens Iesus manum tetigit eum, dicens, "volo mundare," et confestim mundata est lepra eius.'[63] Per lepram istam congrue intelligatur superbia quia sicut lepra intumescere facit carnem, ita superbia intumescere, et sicut lepra vocem hominis aufert, ita superbia, quia si homo in superbia erigatur, vix sibi loquenti respondere dedignatur. Per lepram igitur congrue figuratur. Istam autem infirmitatem lepre per quam ad similitudinem Dominus dicitur in se pertulisse. Ysaie 53 scribitur, 'et nos putauimus eum quasi leprosum et percussum a Deo et humiliatum'.[64] Tres eciam condiciones in leprosis invenio que eciam fuerunt in Christo. Propter quas similitudinarie potest

56 Isa. 1. 6.
57 II Tim. 2. 10.
58 Joel 2. 26.
59 Phil. 2. 8.
60 Isa. 53. 4.
61 Isa. 1. 5.
62 Jer. 17. 14.
63 Matt. 8. 2–3.
64 Isa. 53. 4.

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dici eam lepram habuisse, nam leprosi cum orrore conspiciuntur, ab hominibus fugiuntur, et a malis despiciuntur. Sic Christus. Nam primo in Christo conspexerunt, scilicet, Iudei, cum eum acceperunt et morti tradiderunt. Vnde Sapiencie secundo dicunt Iudei de Christo, 'Circumveniamus iustum quoniam invtilis est nobis et contrarius est operibus nostris [. . .] Promittit se scienciam Dei habere et Filium Dei se nominat. [. . .] Grauis est nobis ad videndum quoniam dissimilis est aliis vita illius.'[65] Ecce quod Iudeis fuit graue et orribile Christum videre. Secundam condicionem leprosorum habuit Christus quia omnes ab eo fugerunt, scilicet, discipuli cum Iudei eum ceperunt. Vnde Matthei 26 scribitur quod 'discipuli relicto eo omnes fugerunt',[66] et Prouerbiorum 19 dicitur, 'fratres hominis pauperis oderunt eum insuper et amici eius procul recesserunt ab eo'.[67] Iudei et Iudas qui debuerint fuisse fratres Iesu Christi oderunt eum, et discipuli Christi qui fuerunt amici Christi, secundum i<llu>d Iohannes 15, 'Vos amici mei estis',[68] recesserunt ab eo. Terciam condicionem leprosorum habuit Christus, scilicet, quod mali despexerunt eum. Nam mali Iudei despexerunt eum in corde suo propter quod cuilibet tali dicitur in Psalmo, 'Tu vere repulisti et despexisti, distulisti christum tuum.'[69] Sic igitur patet quomodo Christus per quamdam similitudinem in se pertulit lepre infirmitatem et hoc vt nos curaret et a lepra superbie nos mundaret, et hoc per coronam in capite. Nam coronam sustinuit et sensit penam in capite vt nos sanaret a lepra superbie, quia superbia est capud omnium viciorum. Inicium enim omnis peccati superbia et in capite plus ostendit se superbia quam in aliis membris vt patet tam in gustu quam ornatu. Et ideo vt in nobis mundaret superbie lepram, penam sustinuit in capite per coronam. Hic potes notare contra quantitam virorum et mulierum.

[Second Principal Part]
Secundo fuit genus humanum paraliticum per inuidiam. Matthei 9 scribitur, 'Et ecce offerebant ei paraliticum iacentem in lecto, et ait paralitico, "Surge, tolle lectum tuum," et sanauit eum.'[70] Scitis quod paralisis aufert tam motum quam sensum. Sic inuidia aufert bonum motum caritatis erga proximum et aufert sensum veritatis ab intelleccione de eo rectum habeat iudicium qui malum contra proximum continue machinatur. Istam autem infirmitatem pro humani generis salute per quamdam similitudinem se Dominus dicitur pertulisse. Nam paralisis ostendit se in pede, manu et capite. In pede, ostendit se paralisis quoniam vix potest palam[71] stare qui in paralisi dicitur laborare. Sic eciam Christus fere collabebatur cum in facie duris alapis cedebatur. Quia figuratus fuit in rege

65 Sap. 2. 12–13, 15.
66 Matt. 26. 56.
67 Prov. 19. 7.
68 Joh. 15. 14.
69 Ps 88. 39.
70 Matt. 9. 2, 6.
71 palam] *conjectural reading; the abbreviation of this word seems to be* pal *with a macron through the* l.

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Dauid, primo Regum 21, vbi dicitur quod 'Dauid extimuit valde a facie Achis [. . .] et collabebatur inter manus eorum.'[72] Secundo ostendit se paralisis in manu quia paralisis reddit manum invtilem ad operandum. Sic Iudei Christi crudelissimi tortores reddiderunt et fecerunt Christi manus dulcissimas ad operandum invtiles. Nam illas ligauerunt, clauis perforauerunt, et sic per manus eum ad lignum crucis durissime ligauerunt. In cuius[73] [fol. 172r] figura vt patet Iudith 6 serui Olofernis 'ligaverunt Achior ad arborem manibus et pedibus et sic uincta[74] dimiserunt'.[75] Propter quod Augustinus loquens de Christo dicit sic, 'Ligatur', inquit, 'qui sic soluit conpeditos; ligno suspenditur, qui erigit elisos; aceto potatur fons vite'.[76] Tercio ostendit se paralisis in capite quia facit quod homo capud suum in pace non poterit custodire vel tetuere.[77] Sic et Christus non habuit nisi capud suum potuit commetare, et sic ipse capitis debilitatem inclinate capite visus est spiritum exalare. Sic igitur patet quomodo Christus Iesus per quamdam similitudinem in se pertulit paralisis infirmitatem, et hoc vt nos sanaret a paralisi invidie cum lancea in latere. Non uoluit vt lateri suo sic forti lancea infigeretur nisi vt cor nostrum a paralisi infirmitate sanaretur.

[Third Principal Part]

Tercio fuit genus humanum febricitans per iram. Iohannes 14 dicitur quod ad dictum Christi 'hora septima reliquit eum febris'.[78] Ira autem ad modum febris totum hominem calefacit et quasi ignem accendit. Istam autem infirmitatem febris pro humani generis salute per quamdam similitudinem in se dicitur Dominus pertulisse. Nam febricitantes dolorem capitis sensiunt, in accessione sudorem emittunt et vestes frequentius dimittunt. Sic Christus vero capud suum dolere potuit quia pre ceteris eius membris plus passum fuit. Licet eius dorsum fuerat flagellatum et totum corpus cruentatum, capud tamen eius sanctissimum alapis ceditur, sputis maculatur, arundine percutitur, spinis coronatur. Vnde bene potuit dicere i<llu>d 4 Regum 4, 'capud meum doleo,

72 I Reg. 21. 12–13.

73 *At the bottom of this folio appears the following table*:
Quod fuit homo *[in the right-hand margin]*

leprosus	superbiam 1	Bolnande	Lownesse	superbia
paraliticus	inuidiam 3	Rowaunde	Almesse	auaricia
febricitans	iram 7	Grysly	Clennesse	luxuria
languidus Per	accidiam 5	Hewy	Rewfulnesse	inuidia
ydropicus	auariciam 6	þristy	Innocense	odium
lunaticus	gulam 4	Rikelande	Myty	accidiosi
sanguis fluxus	luxuriam 2	Brennande	Cestynesse	gulosi

74 uincta] *Vulgate has* vinctum de restibus.

75 Jth 6. 9.

76 This quotation is in Thomas of Ireland's *Manipulus florum* under *passio*, letter D, where it is attributed to 'Augustinus in libro de octo virtutibus caritatis.' For an on-line edition of the *Manipulus florum*, see 'The Electronic *Manipulus florum* Project', http://info.wlu.ca/~wwwhist/faculty/cnighman (accessed 27 December 2011). For its use by preachers, see Rouse and Rouse, *Preachers, Florilegia and Sermons*.

77 tetuere] *sic, but possibly* tegere.

78 Joh. 4. 52.

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capud meum doleo'.[79] Huius autem capitis membra non dicuntur qui carnaliter viuendo tanti capitis doloribus non compatiuntur. Propter quod dicit Bernardus, 'Sub spineto capite non decet corpus viuere delicate.' Secundo febricitans in accessione sudorem emittit, sic eciam Christus pro nobis agonizauit et sanguinem sudauit. Luce 22, dicitur, 'Et factus in agonia prolixius orabat et factus est sudor eius sicut gutte sanguinis decurrentis in terram.'[80] Ecce quam grauis fuerit ista infirmitas que non valuit curari per aque sudacionem set per nostri saluatoris sanguinis effusionem. Tercio feruenti amore quem ad nos habuit totaliter se pro nobis denudauit et pro nobis nudus in cruce pependit. Sic igitur patet quomodo Christus Iesus per quamdam similitudinem et proprietatem pro nobis febris sustinuit infirmitatem, et hoc vt nos sanaret ab ira per febres designata per clauum in eius manu dextera. Quasi cum homines ira fer<a>[81] deseuiunt, statim dextera percutiunt[82] et proximum occidunt, et ideo vt nos sanaret a peccato sementis ire manum eius dexteram sustinuit perforari.

[Fourth Principal Part]

Quarto fuit genus humanum languidum per accidiam. Iohanne 5, dicitur quod 'erat quidem homo ibi triginta et octo annos habens in infirmitate sua, [. . .] et dicit ei Iesus "Surge, tolle lectum tuum et ambula," et statim factus est homo sanus.'[83] Accidiosi enim ad modum languidi imbecilles sunt ad forcia languidi ad bona opera. Istam autem infirmitatem pro humani generis salute per quamdam similitudinem et proprietatem in se Dominus dicitur pertulisse. Nam languidi eis ministrantes tedio afficiunt, de lecto per se non descendunt, et ex diurnitate infirmitatis exarescunt. Sic et Christus Iesus, nam primo tedio affecit sibi seruientes et eum crucifigentes, vnde vt quidam dicunt quod custodientes eum crucifigeretum dederunt ei acetum bibere vt cicius moreretur ne ab eis vlterius custodiretur. Secundo Christus more languidi per se de lecto non poterat descendere quia, quamuis Iudei satis eum prouocauerunt vt de lecto crucis descendisset dicentes, 'Si filius Dei es, descende nunc de cruce',[84] non tamen de lecto crucis descendit donec iustus Ioseph eum de lecto crucis deposuit. Vnde Luce 23 dicitur quod iste Ioseph 'accessit ad Pilatum et petiit corpus Iesu et depositum inuoluit sindone'.[85] Crux autem ista est lectus ille super quem viri impii interfecerunt virum innocentum Ysboseth vt habetur secundo Regis quarto.[86] Iste Ysboseth, qui vir confusionis interpretatur, congrue Christum signat pro tempore pro quo in lecto crucis ponebatur quia vere tunc vir confusionis fuit quia in lecto crucis crudeliter et confusibiliter occisus

79 IV Reg. 4. 19.
80 Luc. 22. 43–4.
81 fera] *MS reads* fer. *I assume this should be some form of* ferus, *meaning* wild *or* savage, *but this adjective can modify either* homines *or* ira. *I have emended it to modify* ira.
82 percutiunt] MS percussiunt (?).
83 Joh. 5. 5, 8–9.
84 Matt. 27. 40.
85 Luc. 23. 52–3.
86 II Reg. 4. 6–7.

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fuit. Tunc eciam cum isto Ysboseth claudus effectus est, per accutissimos clauos per membrum pedum transfixus est. Tercio Christus more languidi incepit arescere. Vnde in Psalmo, 'Ossa mea sicut gremium arruerunt.'[87] Et quid mirum si corpus i<llu>d dulcissimum arruerat de quo [fol. 172v] non solum in cruce set eciam in oracione tantus sanguis effluxerat. Sic igitur patet quomodo Christus Iesus per quamdam similitudinem et proprietatem languidorum habuit infirmitatem et hoc vt nos sanaret per clauum in pedibus ab accidia per languorem corporis designata, quia in cruce pendens contra accidiosos qui in Dei seruicio stare nolunt, permisit vt pedes sui perforati essent vt et ipsi accidiosi in Dei seruicio stare vellent.

[Fifth Principal Part]
Quinto fuit genus humanum ydropicus per auariciam. Luce 14 scribitur, 'Ecce homo quid ydropicus erat ante illum. Ipse vero apprehensum sanauit eum ac dimisit.'[88] Scitis enim quod ydropici quanto plus bibunt tanto plus scitiunt. Ita et auari, quanto plura temporalia eis aduenerint, tanto plus auaricia inardescunt. Qui enim de ista aqua auaricie bibent, iterum scicient. Istam autem ydropisis infirmitatem pro humani generis salute per quamdam similitudinem et proprietatem Dominus in se fertur pertulisse. Quia ydropisi quasi siti moriuntur, quasi tympanum extenduntur, et aliquando ferro acuto precinduntur. Sic Christus. Nam primo quasi siti arruit. Vnde vt patet Iohanne 19, propter sitim clamauit, 'Scicio'. Quid, inquam, citis, o bone Iesu? Cruciat te citis plus[89] quam vexillum crucis. De cruce siles; de cruce nulla fit a te mencio, set de cruce clamas, 'Scicio'. Quid igitur scitis, bone Iesu? Cicio in veram fidem et animarum vestrarum salutem. Plus enim cicio animas a diaboli potestate liberari quam michi potum aliquem dari siue ministrari. Secundo ydropisi quasi tympanum extenduntur, sic eciam Christus in cruce quasi tympanum extendebatur. Nam in tantum pellis istius tympani extendebatur quousque in locis pluribus rumpebatur. Exodi 15 scribitur quod Maria transsito mari iubeo sumpsit tympanum et precinebat.[90] Per Mariam intelligo animam deuotam que tunc cum Maria tympanum sumpsit et precinuit cum Christum quasi tympanum in cruce extensum mente deuota conspicit et ex tali beneficio exhillarita inmensas Deo gracias reddidit. Tercio ydropisi aliquando precinderuntur ferro, sic et Christus. Iohanne 15 dicitur quod vnus militum lancea latus eius aperuit et continuo exiuit sanguis et aqua. Sic igitur patet quomodo Christus per quamdam similitudinem et proprietatem pro nobis sustinuit ydropisis infirmitatem et hoc vt nos sanaret ab auaricia. In ydropisi designata per clauum in eius manu sinistra, quia isti auari primo quasi manu sinistra multa iniuste colligent, et tunc ea quasi manu fortiter apud se stringunt. Vt igitur non sanaret a cupiditate et auaricia passus est per clauum in manu sinistra.

87 Ps 101. 4.
88 Luc. 14. 2, 4.
89 Plus *added in margin*.
90 Exod. 15. 20–1.

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[Sixth Principal Part]
Sexto fuit genus humanum lunaticum per gulam et ebrietatem. Matthei 17 scribitur quod 'accessit homo ad Iesum dicens, "Domine miserere filio meo quia lunaticus est et male patitur,"[91] et increpauit eum Iesus et exiit ab eo demonium et curatus est puer ex illa hora'.[92] Sicut enim lunatici currunt et sensum perdunt, sic ebrii et gulosi vt plurimi priuantur gressu et carent sensu. Istam autem infirmitatem pro humani generis salute per quamdam similitudinem et proprietatem, Dominus in se dicitur pertulisse. Nam lunatici se in precipiscium mittunt, per barbam saliue defluunt, et in infirmitate frequenter uoces emittunt. Sic Christus nam primo in precipicium seipsum pro nobis dedit et, quasi in aquis tribulationis et angustie, se pro nobis profundius immersit, vnde hic est alter Ionas qui rogabat homines in naui vt se mitterent in mari vt patet Iona primo capitulo secundo.[93] In lunaticis sputa per barbam defluunt, sic et in Christo saliue defluebant per barbam Christi cum conspuebant in faciem eius pessimi Iudei. Isaie 50 scribitur, 'Faciem meam non auerti ab increpantibus et conspuentibus'[94] in me. Tercio lunatici in infirmitate frequencius voces emittunt. Matthei 27, scribitur, 'Iesus clamans voce magna emisit spiritum.'[95] Hec vox de omnibus fuit horrenda set hominibus attendenda. Vnde Bernardus, 'Alte clamauit vt ab hominibus audiretur clamor; lacrimas addidit vt homo compateretur.'[96] Sic igitur per quamdam similitudinem et proprietatem Christus pro nobis sustinuit lunatici infirmitatem et hoc vt nos sanaret a gula, designata in lunatici infirmitate per spongiam in ore. Nam contra ventris ingluuiem, degustauit acerbissimum liquorem quia acetum et vinum mirratum cum felle mixtum.

[Seventh Principal Part]
Septimo sanguinem fluens fuit genus humanum per luxuriam. Matthei 9 dicitur, 'Et ecce mulier que sanguinis fluxum paciebatur duodecim annis accessit retro et tetigit fimbriam vestimenti eius, [. . .] et Iesus conuersus et videns eam dixit, "Confide filia fides tua [fol. 173r] te salvam fecit."'[97] Sicut enim illa infirmitas verecunda est, sic et luxuria, et sicut illa infirmitas quasi totaliter adnichilat hominem et consumit, sic luxuria. Nam luxuria tam consumit bona corporalia quam spiritualia sicut patet in locis pluribus in scriptura. Istam autem sanguinis fluxus infirmitatem pro humani generis salute per quandam similitudinem et proprietatem in se Dominus dicitur pertulisse. Nam qui ex ista infirmitate grauantur sanguinem emittunt, decorem perdidunt, et interius

91 patitur] MS pitatur.
92 Matt. 17. 14, 17.
93 Cf. Ionas 1. 12.
94 Isa. 50. 6.
95 Matt. 27. 50.
96 This is a medieval commonplace. It is quoted in Iacopo da Varazze (Jacobus de Voragine), *Legenda aurea*, ed. G. P. Maggioni, 2 vols. (Tavarnuzze, 1998), I, 338, where it is also attributed to Bernard.
97 Matt. 9. 20, 22.

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torsiones senciunt. Sic et Christus. Nam manifestum est primo quod sanguinem emisit et hoc tam in capite quam in manibus et pedibus quam eciam in latere et in toto corpore, quia non fuit quasi locus vacuus in toto corpore a sanguinis fusione. Sic Christus sicut sanguinem fluentes decorem perdidit propter quod dicitur Ysaie 53 de Christo, 'Non est species ei neque decor et vidimus eum et non erat aspectus.'[98] Similiter Christus, sicut et sanguinem fluentes, doloris interius habuit, nam exterius in Christi corpore fuerunt dolores et pene vehementissime set interius fuerat dolor de humana ingratitudine. Vnde dicitur in Psalmo, 'super dolorem vulnerum meorum addiderunt',[99] id est, dolorem propter eorum ingratitudinem quam michi contra meam gratitudinem oscenderunt. Vnde Bernardus et loquitur in persona Christi ad hominem et dicit sic, 'O homo, vide in quid pro te pacior; si est dolor sicut ego crucior. Ad te clamo qui pro te morior. Vide penas quibus afficior.[100] Vide clauos quibus confodior. Cum sit tantus dolor exterius, intus tamen plantus grauior dum te ingratum experior.'[101] Sic igitur patet quomodo Christus pro nobis per quamdam similitudinem et proprietatem sanguinis fluxus sustinuit infirmitatem, et hoc vt nos sanaret per flagellum a luxuria infirmitate. Fluxus sanguinis designata nam ex flagello paciebatur in toto corpore vt nos curaret a carnali vicio luxurie. Vnde quia hoc peccatum carnale fuerat, ideo contra istud peccatum per flagellam in toto corpore passus erat.

[Conclusion]
Exemplo ergo Christi sustinere debemus hic grauia propter gloriam paradisi habendam. Nam alique <oues> videntes[102] bona pascua frequenter transeunt per spinas et tribulos, et aliquando de lana dimittunt, ita quod vsque ad sanguinem punguntur vt ad ea perueniant. Sic spiritualiter, propter pascua paradisi nobis a Christo ostensa, debemus omnia grauia mundi sustinere et lanam diuiciarum dimittere et si oportet sanguinis effusionem sustinere quia Marci, dicitur, 'qui sustinuerit vsque in finem hic saluus erit'.[103] Dicamus igitur Iesum:

> Iesu þat woldes for mannys sake
> Comen from heuen to our wendyng;
> Iesu, mankynd þu woldes take,
> Vs to helpe from pynnyng,
> Suffreste þi bonys for to crake,
> And bor þe corown þat was prikkyng,
> Ws from synne fre yow make,
> And bryng vs alle to good endyng.

98 Isa. 53. 2.
99 Ps 68. 27.
100 afficior] *this word looks like* afficionem *but is very unclear*.
101 This quotation is in Thomas of Ireland's *Manipulus florum* under *passio*, letter AM, where it is attributed to 'Bernardus in persona Domini in quodam sermone.'
102 alique . . . videntes] *it appears to be* aliqua videncia, *but I am unable to make sense of this*.
103 Marc. 13. 13.

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CHAPTER SIX

The Deadly Sins and Contemplative Politics: Gerson's Ordering of the Personal and Political Realms

Nancy McLoughlin, University of California, Irvine

Jean Gerson adapted the pastoral and monastic deadly sins traditions in order to create an authoritative voice for himself in his court sermons. He did this by identifying the University of Paris with the Holy Spirit or the embodiment of virtue and the university's enemies with the seven deadly sins. This strategy reflected his understanding of the university's role as the fountain of truth for Christian Europe. It also, however, invited his audience to consider the university closely for the purpose of discerning whether it served sin or virtue. The relationship between the evolution of Gerson's understandings of the deadly sins and the political and intellectual contexts in which he deployed the deadly sins tradition demonstrates how Gerson simultaneously crafted his arguments to fit the needs of particular audiences while constantly revising a seemingly coherent theological understanding of the relationship between intellectual authority and the anatomy of the soul.

Modern scholars have recognized the fifteenth-century theologian and chancellor of the University of Paris, Jean Gerson (1363–1429), as an important contributor to the medieval tradition of the seven deadly sins. Gerson addressed the deadly sins in his handbooks for parish priests, his sermons to the laity and his theological treatises.[1] He also deployed the deadly sins tradition in

[1] For an overview of Gerson's treatment of temptation and each of the seven sins, see L. Mourin, *Jean Gerson, prédicateur français*, Rijksuniversiteit te Gent, Werken uitg. door de Faculteit van de Wijsbegeerte en Letteren 113 (Bruges, 1952), pp. 232–43. For a more detailed catalogue of Gerson's treatment of sin and the deadly sins, see C. Brown, *Pastor and Laity in the Theology of Jean Gerson* (Cambridge, 1987), pp. 117–70, esp. pp. 123–58. For a list of Gerson's verse treatments of vices and virtues, see Newhauser, *Treatise*, pp. 30–1. Newhauser notes that the incorporation of lists of the deadly sins into penitential handbooks, like Gerson's *Manual for Simple People* discussed below, contributed to the demise of the independent genre of treatises on virtues and vices and thus the tendency on the part of modern scholars to overlook this genre. Newhauser also suggests that Gerson elaborated on the deadly sins tradition in a manner that distinguished mortal from venial instances of the sins

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sermons he delivered before the French royal court addressing issues that may be characterized as primarily political rather than pastoral, such as the papal schism and the civil strife among the French nobility.[2] A comparison of Gerson's various deployments of the seven deadly sins, moreover, suggests that a potent cross-fertilization occurred between his pastoral, political and theological works which encouraged him to reinforce and elaborate upon his previous deployments of the sins in each subsequent deployment.[3] As a result, his treatment of the sins in his pastoral and political works seems to have influenced his understanding of the university-trained theologian's role as an agent of reform in the Church and realm. This constant elaboration on the sins explains how Gerson, who wrote most of his works to address particular institutional and political issues, can also be understood as a systematic thinker; at the same time, it demonstrates the centrality of the sins to late medieval pastoral, political and intellectual thought.[4]

Gerson's treatments of the seven deadly sins simultaneously express his theological and political aims. As previous Gerson scholarship has argued, Gerson developed his understanding of his own authority as a theologian in dialogue with his understanding of spiritual anthropology or the anatomy of the soul. Gerson's understanding of the relationships among the different parts of the soul, in turn, reflected Augustinian, monastic and scholastic discussions about how the interactions among divine grace, the intellect, the will and the passions affect an individual's ability to cultivate virtue and avoid sin. In this respect, it is perfectly possible to incorporate Gerson's treatment of the seven deadly sins into a systematic theological explanation of the relationship between the divinely established ecclesiastical hierarchy and the soul of the individual Christian.[5]

on the basis of intention. See *Treatise*, pp. 50, 95–6, 140. For a detailed discussion of Gerson's contribution to the demise of the deadly sins tradition, see Bossy, 'Arithmetic', pp. 222–33. In contrast, Morton Bloomfield suggests that Gerson's writings on the deadly sins 'were too late to greatly influence medieval literature', in *Sins*, p. 90.

2 Such as Gerson's sermons discussed below: '*Accipietis virtutem*', '*Adorabunt eum*' and '*Vivat rex*', in Jean Gerson, *Oeuvres complètes*, 10 vols. in 11, ed. P. Glorieux (Paris, 1960–73), VII.2, 431–49, 519–38, 1137–85.

3 Gilbert Ouy has demonstrated through a careful examination of Gerson's *Opus tripartitum* that in addition to being aware of the needs of different audiences as he translated his own works from Latin to French Gerson also revised some of his Latin works after he had presented them in a pastoral context in French. This second revision suggests that his pastoral concerns did indeed inform his formal theology. See G. Ouy, *Gerson bilingue: les deux rédactions, latine et française, de quelques oeuvres du chancelier parisien*, Études christiniennes 2 (Paris, 1998).

4 For the purposefully political nature of Gerson's writings, see D. Hobbins, 'The Schoolman as Public Intellectual: John Gerson and the Late Medieval Tract', *American Historical Review* 108 (2003), 1308–37 (p. 1326). For the suggestion that such contextual readings of Gerson should characterize future Gerson scholarship, see B. P. McGuire, 'Introduction', in *A Companion to Jean Gerson*, ed. B. P. McGuire, Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition 3 (Leiden, 2006), p. xvi.

5 For a detailed description of Gerson's understanding of the anatomy of the soul, see

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The deadly sins tradition, however, also presented Gerson with a powerful starting point from which he could explore his role as a spokesman of the university from the vantage point of a preacher or spiritual advisor not only for the individual but also, on a larger scale, for the Church and the kingdom of France. In doing so, he was able to conflate the king's soul with his political kingdom, to use the five senses as a means to insinuate how the spiritual and political realms are united, and to appropriate the trappings of courtly discourse and political symbolism for the purpose of augmenting his authority as a university-trained preacher. As a result of his conflation of the spiritual and political realms, Gerson mapped the vices, namely allegorical figures or demons thought to work within the human soul, onto the bodies of political actors such as the French nobility. This strategy allowed Gerson to express unpopular ideas and even biting political criticism in such a way that rather than banishing him from the court, the king and the princes of the blood repeatedly invited him back.[6] As Gerson's more scholastic treatments of the theologian's authority indicate, however, he could not escape the limits of his own construction. He recognized in his own treatises addressing the authority of university-trained theologians that university-based authority claims were open to the same scrutiny that he himself applied to the laity and the crown. Theologians could exercise authority only to the extent that they could demonstrate their own victory over the sins.

The synthetic and complementary nature of the arguments Gerson presented to these three different audiences (crown, laity, and university) suggests that Gerson subscribed to a theologically consistent and seemingly systematic treatment of the deadly sins. His political sermons demonstrate, however, that he also developed his understanding of the sins to suit his political goals. In this respect, he provides an excellent opportunity for examining the relationship

S. E. Ozment, *Homo Spiritualis: A Comparative Study of the Anthropology of Johannes Tauler, Jean Gerson and Martin Luther (1509–16) in the Context of their Theological Thought*, Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought 6 (Leiden, 1969), pp. 49–83. For a discussion of how Gerson's understanding of the anatomy of the soul and the Pseudo-Dionysian hierarchy of the universe determined the limits of speculative and affective human knowledge, see McGuire, 'Introduction', pp. 40–9. For the implicit suggestion that Gerson's understanding of the anatomy of the soul, pastoral discourses on the deadly sins and the equation of charity with obedience worked together to form a synthetic understanding of the relationship among humans, God and society, see Brown, *Pastor and Laity in the Theology of Jean Gerson*, pp. 119–20, 164–7.

6 For a comparison of Gerson's success with that of less fortunate preachers and university representatives, see G. H. M. Posthumus Meyjes, *Jean Gerson, Apostle of Unity: His Church Politics and Ecclesiology*, Studies in the History of Christian Thought 94 (Leiden, 1999), pp. 22, 27. Gerson repeatedly violated the crown's ban against publicly discussing the papal schism; see D. Taber, 'The Theologian and the Schism: A Study of the Political Thought of Jean Gerson (1363–1429)' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University, 1985), pp. 117–20. For a discussion of Gerson's early court sermons (1389–97), see Mourin, *Jean Gerson, prédicateur français*, pp. 53–166.

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between conceptions of the seven deadly sins and their cultural and political contexts. In his political deployment of the seven deadly sins tradition, Gerson constructed a systematically informed synthesis of theological reflections on intellectual authority, monastic practice, relations between the laity and the clergy and court symbolism.[7] This synthesis evolved with each deployment while maintaining its systematic appearance, demonstrating the impossibility of separating theological commitments from their immediate context, for these commitments gain their meaning as they are deployed and inform a worldview that must constantly correct itself in order to make sense of historical and political change.[8]

The evolution of Gerson's understanding of the seven deadly sins began with his pastoral engagement with the sins as a young scholar and court preacher. As research on the seven deadly sins has established, the sins played a central role in medieval pastoral care. In the high and late Middle Ages Europeans formulated their confessions on the basis of the seven deadly sins and could expect their pastors to encourage them to examine their consciences in dialogue with this widespread tradition that had permeated literature, art and mirrors for princes.[9] Gerson elaborated on this pastoral role for the seven deadly sins in his handbook for preachers, *Doctrinal aux simples gens* (*Manual for Simple People*), which he wrote some time between 1380 and 1400, when the bishop of Reims endorsed it as an excellent pastoral tool. As the introduction appended to the handbook suggests, the contents were eventually examined and approved by many doctors of theology at Paris, suggesting that this handbook expressed broadly held assumptions about the basics of pastoral care.[10]

7 In this manner, Gerson's deployment of the deadly sins is much more systematic than his references to medieval bestiaries, which Dulac argues did not need to be systematically developed because his audience would have been well acquainted with the examples he used. See L. Dulac, 'Un bestiaire politique dans l'oeuvre de Jean Gerson?', in *'Furent les merveilles pruvées et les aventures truvées'. Hommage à Francis Dubost*, ed. F. Gingras *et al.*, Colloques, congrès et conférences sur le Moyen Age 6 (Paris, 2005), pp. 209–24.

8 Newhauser suggests that during the Middle Ages 'literary compositions of all kinds remained bound to a communicative situation'. For this reason he suggests that although the form of the sins and their hierarchical relationship remained somewhat constant over time, it was also a natural part of the development of the genre of treatises on virtues and vices for the relationships between the vices to change and for treatments of the deadly sins to leak into other genres such as the confessional manual. For this reason, Newhauser suggests that changes in emphasis on certain sins may be linked to changes in cultural outlook. See *Treatise*, pp. 60, 64–8, 180, 197–202. Newhauser elaborates on the sins as cultural constructions in 'Introduction: Cultural Construction and the Vices', in *Seven Deadly Sins*, pp. 1–5. A similar argument about the relationship between individual identity, worldview and specific historical positions may be elicited from M. Somers, 'The Narrative Constitution of Identity: A Relational and Network Approach', *Theory and Society* 23.5 (1994), 605–49.

9 Newhauser, *Treatise*, pp. 85–6, 124–35, 138–42. See also Bloomfield, *Sins*, pp. 91–104.

10 Gerson, *Oeuvres*, X.2, 295. For questions about date and audience, see B. P. McGuire,

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At first glance, Gerson's treatise appears to be no more than an annotated list of different guidelines for Christian behavior in which the deadly sins comprise one list among many. The *Doctrinal* includes, among other subjects, standard preaching topics such as the articles of the faith, love of one's neighbor, love of one's enemies, the spiritual and corporal works of mercy, the Ten Commandments, the five senses, the seven deadly sins, the sacraments, purgatory, the last judgment and the joys of heaven.[11] The topics are arranged in list form and there is no readily apparent systematic framework that brings them together to form a cohesive argument. Repeated emphases and the very few instances in which the topics of different lists mingle suggest, however, that the treatise would have served two goals that also characterize Gerson's court sermons. The handbook conveys its pastoral lessons in language that is carefully tailored to engage with the worldview of its intended audience while simultaneously emphasizing the expertise and authority of the clergy as such authority was understood within the university community.

In addition to keeping his discussions brief and writing plainly and in French, Gerson presented his message in a manner that reflected the concerns of late medieval urban life.[12] For example, in his discussion of how faithful Christians should love God with the appropriate charity, he identified the scriptural figure Job with a Parisian bourgeois, calling him the greatest *preudomme* of the earth and emphasizing his extreme wealth.[13] When discussing the commandment to keep the Sabbath, Gerson explained that in addition to attending church on the Sabbath and listening to the entire sermon, individuals must also avoid dancing, which becomes the occasion for the lesser of the seven deadly sins, namely, anger, envy, lust and sloth. This occurs, he elaborated, because dances cause people to be proud and to desire pretty robes and jewels in addition to turning them away from the spiritual goods they should pursue.[14] He also attacked having pride in one's robes and jewels, in addition to having pride in one's lineage, wealth or high office when he addressed the deadly sin of pride.[15]

Jean Gerson and the Last Medieval Reformation (University Park, 2005). The work was originally thought to be written by the bishop of Reims himself because it appears under his name in the municipal library in Reims; however, Palémon Glorieux, the modern editor of Gerson's work, believed Gerson to be the author of the manual, and an expert on Gerson paleography, Gilbert Ouy, also believes this to be the case. Moreover, Ouy suggests that Gerson was probably among the university masters to approve the text and that the ideas represented in it were in wide circulation in Paris as Gerson composed his other catechetical works. See Ouy, *Gerson bilingue*, p. xv.

11 Gerson, *Oeuvres*, X.2, 295–321. For the importance of catechetical treatises such as this in the development of treatments of the seven deadly sins, see Newhauser, *Treatise*, pp. 65, 71–2, 85–8, 133–5, 138–42.

12 Gerson, *Oeuvres*, X.2, 296.

13 Ibid., X.2, 297.

14 Ibid., X.2, 300.

15 Ibid., X.2, 302. Providing this type of detail was common to sermons and treatises on the vices, and treatments of pride frequently focused on excessively ornate clothing.

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Gerson repeatedly emphasized the relationship between Christian charity and the appropriate religious attitude and behavior of the individual parishioner. Charity, Gerson explained, causes the good Christian to thank God for his suffering, encourages him to love his neighbor and enemy appropriately and motivates him to perform acts of spiritual and corporal mercy. Gerson claimed that the performance of the deeds of mercy could save an individual from a bad death and served to extinguish the sins of a truly repentant individual who had gone to confession, in the same way that water puts out fire.[16] Charity itself is demonstrated by an individual's careful attention to the Ten Commandments, which in turn also helps the individual avoid the seven deadly sins.[17]

In this context, the seven deadly sins become a list of destructive behaviors that place an individual's soul in peril, cause the individual to be a source of strife within the community and indicate the individual's general lack of Christian charity. For example, individuals who suffer from pride do not protect the good name of their neighbors. Those suffering from envy hold the good lives of others in contempt and foster discord between people. Those suffering anger murmur against God and physically injure others. Those guilty of avarice commit usury and fraud.[18] Although Gerson does not specifically state this point, by implicit comparison it becomes clear that none of these sins is compatible with the prescriptions about charity towards God and neighbor that Gerson emphasized in his handbook. Furthermore, as Gerson stipulated in his introduction to the deadly sins, individuals succumb to the sins because they do not love God enough to keep his Commandments.[19] In other words, individuals who act in accordance with Gerson's description of

See Newhauser, *Treatise*, pp. 79, 128, 155. Peter Biller observes that theologians used priests' manuals to critique contemporary social behavior as early as the thirteenth century and that their concerns may have resulted from a need to address the rise of new professions and as a result may have affected the ways in which both professional ethics and estates satire developed. See P. Biller, 'Confession in the Middle Ages: Introduction', in *Handling Sin: Confession in the Middle Ages*, ed P. Biller and A. J. Minnis, York Studies in Medieval Theology 2 (York, 1998), pp. 11 and 16–17. John Bossy suggests that it was Gerson's ability to elaborate on the Ten Commandments in this manner that allowed the Commandments eventually to replace the sins as the basis of confession. See 'Arithmetic', p. 222.

16 For the suggestion that thanking God for suffering is an expression of charity, see Gerson, *Oeuvres*, X.2, 296; for the assertion that charity encourages the Christian to love his neighbor and enemy as well as to perform the spiritual and corporal works of mercy, see ibid., X.2, 298–300; for the suggestion that performing the acts of mercy should save an individual from a bad death and from sin, see ibid., X.2, 299.

17 For the suggestion that keeping the Ten Commandments demonstrates an individual's charity, see ibid., X.2, 296, 300. For the suggestion that keeping the Ten Commandments protects the individual against the deadly sins, see ibid., X.2, 302.

18 Ibid., X.2, 302–3. In this sense, Gerson participates in a long-standing tradition of treating sin as a breach of social peace. See Biller, 'Confession in the Middle Ages: Introduction', p. 16.

19 In doing so, he portrayed the sins as the seven-headed beast from the Apocalypse (12. 3, 13. 1 ff.), a convention described in Newhauser, *Treatise*, pp. 163–4.

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the sins demonstrate to the clergy, and to the world at large, that they do not love God as they should.

In addition to creating a means by which outsiders are able to judge how well an individual loves God, the *Doctrinal* also suggests that those who have the proper charity towards God and neighbor will respect the authority of the clergy. As part of his explanation of the commandment to honor one's father and mother, Gerson admonished those who 'serve, honor and pray to God and his mother and his saints' but do not also show honor to 'spiritual fathers, such as prelates, curates and priests or other ministers of God'.[20] In this way he implied that failing to show respect to the clergy indicated a failure to honor God. In his discussion of the seven sacraments, he asserted that priests are the fathers of all Christians and the light of the world. They also, when they consecrate the Eucharist and absolve sins, perform works greater than the angels are capable of performing.[21] Moreover, sinful priests, especially priests who consecrate the Eucharist when guilty of the sin of lust, bring damnation upon themselves, but do not prevent the sacrament from working.[22]

These observations suggest that Gerson's annotated list reflects a systematic theological explanation of the relationship between the divinely established ecclesiastical hierarchy and the soul of the individual Christian. Moreover, it is a systematic theological explanation that consistently emphasizes the glory and authority of the clergy. In this sense, the work is consistent with the theological framework within which Gerson's treatment of the seven deadly sins has tentatively been placed.[23] This framework, inspired in part by the work of Pseudo-Dionysius, reflected a rigidly hierarchical understanding of relations between individuals occupying distinct offices or positions within the Church. The highest orders in this hierarchy purge, illuminate and perfect the orders immediately below them. The lower orders obey the orders above them and, in turn, purge, illuminate and perfect the orders immediately below their own. The individual parishioner, who is situated at the lowest rank in this hierarchy, may only work to purify himself or herself. In this case, obedience is stressed.[24]

20 Gerson, *Oeuvres*, X.2, 300–1: 'Item qui aux peres espirituelz, comme prélas, curés, prestres ou autres ministres de Dieu, ne portent honneur; ceux qui . . . font aultres choses que on n'y doit que Dieu et sa mère et ses saints servir, honnouer et prier.'

21 Ibid., X.2, 309.

22 Ibid.

23 See n. 4 above.

24 For an explanation of how Gerson applied a Pseudo-Dionysian understanding of the celestial hierarchy to the Church hierarchy of his day, see L. Pascoe, *Jean Gerson: Principles of Church Reform*, Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought 7 (Leiden, 1973), pp. 17–32. Pascoe observes (p. 32) that Gerson often gendered the laity feminine and emphasized its lack of power. Dyan Elliot has argued that there was a widespread tendency among high medieval clergy to represent the laity as female because women were barred from holding clerical office. See D. Elliott, *Proving Woman: Female Spirituality and Inquisitional Culture in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton, 2004), p. 48. Peter Biller has suggested that modern scholarship has

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Thus, beginning with the articles of the faith, Gerson reminded his reader of the necessity to hold and believe these articles as 'the holy Church holds and believes them'.[25]

Gerson's deployment of the sins as a sign of a lack of charity in a treatise that also suggests that charity is expressed through respect for the clergy echoes university arguments regarding the role of the theologian in the Church.[26] Such arguments, which were developed in defense of the right of university members to collect benefices *in absentia* so that they could pursue their studies, depicted theologians as the architects of the Church and the simple priests as its carpenters. Theologians protected the Church from heresy by clarifying Church doctrine and then presenting that doctrine so that all Christians could understand and follow it for their own personal benefit and also for the good of the Christian state. These arguments noted that the task of teaching was listed among the gifts of the Holy Spirit in Paul's Letter to the Ephesians, and they compared the role of theologians in the Church to that of martyrs, virgins and stars in the sky. Such justifications were readily available in statements by Thomas Aquinas, Henry of Ghent and Pierre d'Ailly, all writers whose works Gerson knew well.[27]

placed more emphasis on the gender of the penitent than the medieval sources, which explicitly gender the penitent female only when dealing with sexual sins. See Biller, 'Confession in the Middle Ages: Introduction', pp. 14–15.

25 Gerson, *Oeuvres*, X.2, 296: 'Et se par ta simplesce tu as creu ou crois aultrement aucuns articles, ton entencion doibt tousiours estre de croire et tenir comme sainte Eglise le tient et croit.'

26 This use of the sins to support the authority of the clergy and the nobility was first deployed by Gregory I and remained influential up to Gerson's time. See Newhauser, *Treatise*, pp. 188–9. Gerson's elaboration of this theme, however, also reflected his experience as a member of the University of Paris.

27 For the equation of theologians with martyrs by Aquinas and Henry of Ghent and the equation of theologians with architects by Aquinas, see I. P. Wei, 'The Self-Image of the Masters of Theology at the University of Paris in the Late Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 46.3 (1995), 398–431 (pp. 402–3, 409–10). For a list of papal comparisons of university masters to the stars of heaven, see A. L. Gabriel, 'The Ideal Master of the Mediaeval University', *The Catholic Historical Review* 60 (1974), 1–40 (pp. 7–8). In his defense of the right of the University of Paris to censure the Dominican theologian John of Monzon, Pierre d'Ailly suggested that theologians had apostolic authority because Paul included teaching among the gifts of the Holy Spirit in Ephesians 4. See Pierre d'Ailly, *Tractatus ex parte universitatis studii Parisiensi pro causa fidei, contra quemdam fratrem Johannem de Montesono Ordinis Praedicatorum*, in *Collectio judiciorum de novis erroribus qui ab initio duodecimi saeculi . . . usque ad annum 1632 in ecclesia proscripti sunt et notati*, ed. C. Du Plessis d'Argentré, 3 vols. (Paris, 1725–36; reprint Brussels, 1963), I.2, 77. For an analysis of d'Ailly's argument and its influence on Gerson, see D. Taber, 'Pierre d'Ailly and the Teaching Authority of the Theologian', *Church History* 59.2 (1990), 163–74. Throughout this tract it is clear that d'Ailly cited all available precedents for university authority and consulted the anti-mendicant tracts written by Henry of Ghent. Gerson also frequently cited the works of Aquinas and demonstrated a familiarity with d'Ailly's treatise against Monzon in his 1389 treatise, *Gallia quae viris semper*, in *Oeuvres*, X.1, 9.

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In fact, a significant part of Gerson's theological reform of the Parisian university included reviving this tradition. Gerson expressed his desire to redefine the theologian as an individual primarily concerned with pastoral rather than speculative questions in his early letters regarding the reform of the university. As Gerson imagined in a letter he wrote to Pierre d'Ailly in 1400, theologians who embraced Gerson's reform would dedicate themselves to 'the education of the people and the solution of moral questions', goals he would further through the production of a little treatise 'on the main points of our religion, and especially on its precepts, for the instruction of uneducated people'.[28] He seems to have fulfilled this task with his own *Doctrinal* and his many other pastoral works.[29] In his 1402 treatise titled *Contra curiositatem studentium* (*Against the Curiosity of Scholars*), he indicated that when the university had fulfilled this task of turning its attention from speculative to pastoral questions it would serve as a 'unique and excellent and incorruptible fountain of the study of theology, from which other schools of theology would branch off like streams'.[30]

This ambitious understanding of the role of the university within the Church, however, did not readily translate from the university or parish context to the context of the French royal court. Kings and princes had access to sufficient wealth and power to question the relevance of sermons urging them to penitence and repeatedly expressed their disapproval of the Parisian university's attempts to shape political or ecclesiastical policies.[31] Gerson,

28 Translated in B. P. McGuire, *Jean Gerson: Early Works* (New York, 1998), p. 174. Gerson, *Oeuvres*, II, 28: 'Et pro honore Dei attendatur diligenter quanta est necessitas pro instructione populorum et pro resolutione materiarum moralium temporibus nostris. . .ita fieret per facultatem vel de mandato ejus aliquis tractatulus super punctis principalibus nostrae religionis, et specialiter de praeceptis, ad instructionem simplicium . . .'

29 Bossy credits Gerson's *ABC des simples gens*, *Miroir de l'ame* and *Opus tripartitum* with exercising tremendous influence over French pastoral care. See 'Arithmetic', p. 223.

30 Gerson, *Oeuvres,* III, 248–9: 'evitationem confusionis doctrinarum, ut sicut est una fides, et unum caput in spiritualibus, sic sit unicus et praecipuus studii theologiae fons incorruptus, a quo caetera theologiae Studia velut rivuli deriventur'. This treatise is a systematic elaboration upon the themes expressed in the letter. See S. E. Ozment, 'The University and the Church: Patterns of Reform in Jean Gerson', *Medievalia et humanistica* n.s. 1 (1970), 112. Early thirteenth-century theologians who were interested in the application of theology to pastoral concerns also were critical of speculative theology. See J. Bird, 'The Construction of Orthodoxy and the (De)construction of Heretical Attacks on the Eucharist in *Pastoralia* from Peter the Chanter's Circle in Paris', in *Texts and the Repression of Medieval Heresy*, ed. C. Bruschi and P. Biller, York Studies in Medieval Theology 4 (York, 2003), p. 52.

31 The French royal court under Charles VI was considered to be so taken with worldly pleasures that speakers before the court presented their arguments in allegorical form in order to convince the king and the court to pay attention. By setting up an allegorical situation and then inscribing the audience in the text, which is so constructed, speakers attempted to situate their audience so that existing cultural norms would inspire them to act in a specific manner. See V. Minet-

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however, was able to overcome this challenge to his authority by adjusting the pastoral tradition of the deadly sins to meet the needs of a court audience. In the *Doctrinal*, Gerson implied that the inner state of parishioners would be revealed to others through their behavior. The possession of Christian charity would be demonstrated by victory over the sins and obedience to the clergy. In his first extant court sermon, Gerson similarly emphasized the role played by the public in discerning the king's inner state through observing his behavior.

Gerson preached his earliest extant court sermon on Ash Wednesday, 1389, in order to encourage the king to observe Lent piously.[32] This sermon, *Quaerite Dominum* (*Seek the Lord*), pays particular attention to the deadly sin of pride, which has cost many kings and warriors their lives and/or kingdoms. As the sermon recounts, 'As a result of pride, Saul was driven out of his kingdom, . . . Nebuchadnezzar was deposed, Holofernes was beheaded . . . and Antiochus died the most horrible death'.[33] In addition to rehearsing the expressions of pride addressed in the *Doctrinal*, such as pride in wealth or title, Gerson portrayed this sin as a particularly dangerous obstacle to the king's salvation. Pride, Gerson feared, might prevent the king from taking seriously the need for humble repentance.[34] In effect, pride played the same role in this sermon that a more general discussion of the deadly sins played in the *Doctrinal*. It symbolized a wrongful opposition to clerical authority and charitable Christian correction.

The sermon attacks the king's pride, first, by reminding him that all humans are made of dust and are thus equal to the extent that the king does not have dominion over them through any right of his own. Second, it defines pride as a violent wind in which a foolish human forgets he is made of dust and tries

Mahy, *Esthétique et pouvoir de l'oeuvre allégorique à l'époque de Charles VI imaginaires et discours,* Bibliothèque du XVe siècle 68 (Paris, 2005), pp. 11–18. The crown's refusal to recognize the authority of the University of Paris to determine ecclesiastical questions became apparent during the papal schism of 1378, when King Charles V forced the University of Paris to declare in favor of the Avignon Pope Clement VII by May 1379, and when university master John Rousse was imprisoned for suggesting that the schism be solved through a general council and only released when the University of Paris promised to remain silent on the issue of the schism. See A. Bernstein, *Pierre d'Ailly and the Blanchard Affair: University and Chancellor of Paris at the Beginning of the Great Schism*, Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought 24 (Leiden, 1978), pp. 34–9.

32 Gerson, *Oeuvres*, VII.2, 969–78. For a discussion of the date of the sermon, see Mourin, *Jean Gerson, prédicateur français*, pp. 55–7. Brian Patrick McGuire also discusses this sermon and notes that it was probably given in the royal chapel of Saint Paul. See McGuire, *Jean Gerson and the Last Medieval Reformation*, pp. 47–9.

33 Mourin, *Jean Gerson, prédicateur français*, p. 132. Gerson, *Oeuvres*, VII.2, 971: 'Par orgueil fut Saul deboute de son royaume, . . . Nebugodonosor fut depose, Holofernes fut decole,. . .. Antiochus mouru de la plus horrible mort. . .'

34 Mourin suggests that Gerson considered pride to be a sin particular to the French royal court and aristocracy, especially prior to the onset of the mental instability of Charles VI. See Mourin, *Jean Gerson, prédicateur français*, pp. 58, 239–41.

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to exalt himself above God.[35] Gerson then, in an imagined dialogue between himself and the king, demonstrated his awareness that the king's pride might cause the king to reject his pastoral authority. In this dialogue the king asserts that he need not be concerned with repentance because he is young and wealthy and he enjoys the title of king, among other reasons. Gerson refutes these arguments by observing that life is unpredictable and that wealth not used for charity makes a servant out of the one who guards it so jealously.[36] The dialogue form and Gerson's emphasis on the danger that pride presents to the king suggest, however, that it may not have been very difficult for Gerson to imagine his sermon falling on deaf ears. Gerson even reminded the king that fasting for forty days was not too great a sacrifice to make in exchange for eternal life.[37]

In order to counter the king's pride, Gerson reminded him that all of Paris sees everything he does, to the extent that the Parisians note when he is sleeping, when he rises, when he hears mass, when he eats breakfast and when he bathes.[38] In other words, Gerson emphasized the fact that all of Paris was watching to see if the king behaved as a good Christian. Then Gerson asserted that the king must uproot all pleasures and inclinations of the body and the flesh so that his body will obey his spirit.[39] A reasonable king, Gerson intimated in this sermon, subordinates his urges to reason and therefore appears to have acted reasonably in the constant gaze of his subjects. A component of such reasonable behavior, of course, would be the careful observation of Lent. A king who did otherwise, one infers from Gerson's argument, announced to all his subjects that he was so possessed by foolish pride that he thought himself greater than God.

This ability of the king's subjects to discern his spiritual and intellectual health played a central role in Gerson's 1391 sermon, *Adorabunt eum* (*They will adore him*), which he delivered at Epiphany. Here, Gerson's deployment of the sins became more complex in response to the sermon's ambitious goals. In addition to using the deadly sins to admonish the king to behave in accordance with his Christian beliefs, Gerson sought to portray the university in Paris as an authoritative advisor to the crown in all ecclesiastical and political matters. In effect, Gerson attempted to renegotiate the relationship between the university and the French crown.[40]

35 Gerson, *Oeuvres*, VII.2, 970–1.
36 Ibid., VII.2, 972–5.
37 Ibid., VII.2.
38 Ibid., VII.2, 974.
39 Ibid., VII.2, 976. In this sense, Gerson applied the confessor's knowing gaze, as it was constructed in confessors' manuals, to the people of Paris. They could look at the king and know what sins he was committing. For the confessor's ability to discern sin, see Biller, 'Confession in the Middle Ages: Introduction', p. 5.
40 Gerson, *Adorabunt eum*, in *Oeuvres*, V, 519–38. For the date and context of the sermon, see Mourin, *Jean Gerson, prédicateur français*, p. 65. Morral suggests that this sermon was given to remove a royal ban against public discussion regarding

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Historically, this relationship had been fraught with tension because the university depended on the king for its mere existence and political relevance, as well as the protection of its members against the financial and physical aggression of the people of Paris, disgruntled aristocrats and royal officials. Additionally, the university, as a corporation or scholars' guild, depended on the king's willingness to support its right to govern and discipline its members in order to maintain the solidarity necessary for the cultivation of an established standard of expertise that would then allow university members to speak authoritatively regarding the disciplines in which they were trained. Similarly, the French king and the pope relied on the university's reputation as a seemingly independent body of self-governing experts when they sought the university's public backing of their programs of religious or political reform. These conditions caused a discrepancy between the way university members understood the institution's relationship with the Church and crown and the way that relationship was understood by authorities such as popes and kings. University members understood each royal and papal grant of privileges as confirmation that their unique authority was essential to the rational and moral governing of the Church and the secular realm, while kings and popes considered these concessions reflective of the value they placed on the university's obedient support.[41]

an end to the schism. See J. B. Morrall, *Gerson and the Great Schism* (Manchester, 1960), pp. 30–3; Taber discusses the complexities of the relationship between this sermon and the ban on discussing the schism. See Taber, 'The Theologian and the Schism', pp. 260–9. For McGuire's discussion of the sermon, see *Jean Gerson and the Last Medieval Reformation*, pp. 49–51.

41 For the connection between the masters' independence and their political worth to popes and kings, as well as the role they played in publicly affirming papal and royal policy, see I. P. Wei, 'The Masters of Theology at the University of Paris in the Late Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries: An Authority Beyond the Schools', *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester* 71 (1993), 37–63. William Courtenay has recently re-evaluated the role played by the collective decisions of the University of Paris in royal politics at the turn of the fourteenth century, noting that a careful reading of the sources suggests that Philip IV was the first king to seek the university's collective opinion on matters and to place a particular value on the opinions of theologians. Courtenay argues that Philip was so interested in obtaining a scholarly consensus that he coerced scholars and manufactured documents. See W. Courtenay, 'Learned Opinion and Royal Justice: The Role of Paris Masters of Theology During the Reign of Philip the Fair', in *Law and the Illicit in Medieval Europe*, ed. R. M. Karras, J. Kaye and E. A. Matter (Philadelphia, 2008), pp. 149–63. For a detailed discussion of the privileges the university sought from popes and kings and the violence its members sometimes suffered, see P. Kibre, *Scholarly Privileges in the Middle Ages: The Rights, Privileges, and Immunities of Scholars and Universities at Bologna, Padua, Paris, and Oxford*, Mediaeval Academy of America, Publication 72 (Cambridge, MA, 1962), pp. 132–78. For the important role played by royal sponsorship in the foundation of the University of Paris, see S. Ferruolo, 'Parisius-Paradisus: The City, its Schools and the Origins of the University of Paris', in *The University and the City: From Medieval Origins to the Present*, ed. T. Bender (Oxford, 1988), pp. 22–43. For the connection between university privileges and

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This relationship had a tremendous influence on Gerson's portrayal of the university theologian's role as a preacher and counselor, which may directly reflect the limited interest in university opinions expressed by the crown in the late fourteenth century.[42] The tensions inherent in university–crown relations exploded during the papal schism of 1378–1417. Like many of his predecessors, Charles V (r. 1364–80) had portrayed himself as a patron of the university.[43] He also encouraged what has been identified as the beginnings of a distinctly French humanist movement within the context of the royal College of Navarre and openly consulted with university masters regarding issues of administration and reform.[44] This happy partnership came to an end with the beginning of the schism, when a majority of the cardinals withdrew from Rome, renounced their election of Pope Urban VI and elected Clement VII in his place.

Charles V and his successors forced the university to affirm the validity of the election of Clement VII despite the fact that the countries of origin of several prominent university members had declared for Urban VI. These scholars, unable to renounce their obedience to a pope supported by their home countries, left Paris and founded universities of their own to the detriment of the authority and reputation of the University of Paris. The crown's ability to dictate such a theologically important decision for the university also publicly called into question the expertise and integrity of the university theologians by forcing them to authenticate the royal opinion on the schism despite the fact that there was no consensus among university members regarding this issue.[45] Historically, however, theologians believed that

the cultivation of a culture of expertise, see S. Ferruolo, *The Origins of the University: The Schools of Paris and their Critics, 1100–1215* (Stanford, 1985), p. 300; and J. M. M. H. Thijssen, *Censure and Heresy at the University of Paris 1200–1400* (Philadelphia, 1998). For the university's confusion about the relationship between its privileges and authority, see Bernstein, *Pierre d'Ailly and the Blanchard Affair*.

42 N. McLoughlin, 'Gerson as Preacher in the Conflict between Mendicants and Secular Priests', in *A Companion to Jean Gerson*, pp. 249–91. Douglass Taber suggests that the arguments made by Pierre d'Ailly in support of the University of Paris in its cases against the chancellor of Paris John Blanchard and the Dominican theologian John of Monzon in particular influenced Gerson's understanding of the theologian's authority in the Church. See Taber, 'Pierre d'Ailly and the Teaching Authority of the Theologian', pp. 163–74; and Taber, 'The Theologian and the Schism', pp. 256–7.

43 For the favoritism Charles V showed the University of Paris prior to the schism and the effect of the schism on university–crown relations, see Bernstein, *Pierre d'Ailly and the Blanchard Affair*, p. 28.

44 For the royal encouragement of humanistic studies in Paris under Charles V, see G. Ouy, 'Humanism and Nationalism in France at the Turn of the Fifteenth Century', in *The Birth of Identities: Denmark and Europe in the Middle Ages*, ed. B. P. McGuire (Copenhagen, 1996), pp. 108–21. For the role of the College of Navarre in royal politics under Charles V and Charles VI, see N. Gorochov, *Le Collège de Navarre de sa fondation (1305) au début du XVe siècle (1418): Histoire de l'institution, de sa vie intellectuelle et de son recrutement*, Études d'histoire médiévale 1 (Paris, 1997), pp. 321–561.

45 Posthumus Meyjes, *Jean Gerson, Apostle of Unity*, pp. 19–23.

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their role in the Church required them to obey their conscience in all rulings touching on the faith regardless of any threats from political and ecclesiastical authorities.[46]

More importantly, perhaps, the king's demand contradicted the university's traditional explanation for its privileges and intellectual authority, which ascribed to the university, and its theological faculty in particular, the role of 'breast-plate of the faith'.[47] The university, as its members claimed to understand it, served to prevent France from succumbing to heresy, and in the process preserved France's reputation as the most Christian kingdom ruled by the most Christian king. Gerson promoted this opinion in many of his writings.[48] In *They will adore him*, Gerson applied this argument directly to the schism. He reminded Charles VI that unlike most kings who are consecrated with earthly oil, Charles was consecrated with holy oil from the flask that God had sent to bishop Remigius of Reims for the baptism of Clovis. After emphasizing Charles's spiritual consecration and his consequent responsibility to defend the Church, Gerson observed that Jerome had praised France because it was free from heresy, that the strength of Charles's Christian faith is evident in the love and affection he has shown the University of Paris and that Charles will outdo all of his predecessors as a defender of the Church by putting aside political ambitions for the purpose of solving the horrible papal schism.[49]

Gerson's suggestion that the king's identity as the most Christian king ensured that he would listen to the university's advice regarding the schism, as well as all other sermons and requests that he placed within this narrative of royal power, demonstrates his determination to frame university requests and accomplishments within a much broader symbolic context defined by nascent French humanism and the university's reputation as a guardian against heresy. In *They will adore him*, Gerson used the seven deadly sins tradition to frame this long-standing defense of the university's status within the realm. Moreover, he did so in a way that disguised his assertion of the unquestionable expertise

46 For the theologian's obligation to obey his conscience at all costs, see Wei, 'The Self Image of the Master of Theology', pp. 422–8.

47 See Pope Gregory IX, *Parens scientiarum*, in *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, ed. H. Denifle and E. Chatelain, 4 vols. (Paris, 1889–97), I, 137, no. 79. To some extent, Paris theologians attempted to live up to this reputation during the thirteenth century by actively addressing the concerns raised by Catharism in their sermons and treatises. See P. Biller, 'Northern Cathars and Higher Learning', in *The Medieval Church: Universities, Heresy, and the Religious Life: Essays in Honour of Gordon Leff*, ed. P. Biller and B. Dobson, Studies in Church History, Subsidia 11 (Woodbridge, 1999), pp. 25–53.

48 See, for example, *Gallia quae viris semper*, in Gerson, *Oeuvres*, X.1, 9–10; *Pax hominibus*, in ibid., VII.2, 772; *Rex in sempiternum vive*, in ibid., VII.2, 1005; *Veniat pax*, in ibid., VII.2, 1100; *Vivat rex*, ibid., VII.2, 1137. I discuss this dynamic in 'Gerson as Preacher in the Conflict between Mendicants and Secular Priests'.

49 For Gerson's references to Clovis and Jerome, see *Oeuvres* VII.2, 522–3; for his suggestion that the king demonstrated his faith by showing his love for the university, see ibid., VII.2, 530; and for his suggestion that Charles will outdo all of his predecessors, see ibid., VII.2, 534.

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of university-trained theologians as an expression of pastoral concern regarding the spiritual health of the king reflected in the state of his kingdom. This strategy allowed Gerson to express political criticism in such a way that it fell under his natural jurisdiction as a preacher.

Gerson accomplished this feat by elaborating on the monastic tradition of using the deadly sins to measure the spiritual progress and probity of adherents to the ascetic and contemplative life. This tradition, attributed to the early monastic writer Evagrius of Pontus, focused on the damage that certain forces, which Evagrius ambiguously identified as both evil thoughts and demons, might inflict on the spiritual state of the aspiring contemplative monk. Evagrius warned monks to exercise constant vigilance against these forces.[50] Similarly, Gerson's sermon focused on the disorder that the sins bring to the soul they have conquered, the methods available to the will to combat these sins and the means by which the king's discerning subjects would be able to determine whether or not their king had successfully employed these methods. Implicit in Gerson's suggestion that the king's subjects may readily discern the state of his soul is the idea that the king who has not conquered the sins is not fit to rule. Through this conflation of the king's spiritual state with his fitness to rule, Gerson brought the king's public policy under the preacher's jurisdiction.

Gerson's claim that the king's policy regarding the schism fell under the jurisdiction of the preacher and university theologian depended on his careful placement of the deadly sins within the sermon as a whole. Focusing on the theme of Epiphany, Gerson explained that the three kings and their gifts of myrrh, gold and frankincense represent the three different kingdoms or realms the king of France was responsible for governing. These were the personal kingdom of the king's own soul, the worldly kingdom of France and the spiritual kingdom of the Church. It was the personal realm, the realm falling entirely within the preacher's jurisdiction, that Gerson directed the king to guard with diligence in order to prevent the enemy of all humans, namely the devil, and his hideous and horrible offspring, the seven deadly sins, from leading the king's soul into danger. Gerson followed this warning with a procession of the seven deadly sins: pride, anger, lust, avarice, sloth, envy and gluttony, along with several daughter sins, including presumption, disdain, vainglory, recklessness, frenzy, desire for revenge, sadness, drunkenness, lying, hatred, detractions and 'other beasts without number'. All of these deadly sins, in alliance with the enemy, Gerson warned the king, assault the personal realm, namely the soul.[51]

These sins will be opposed, Gerson argued, only if the king's 'noble heart' or 'free will' sits on the throne of reason, discretion is its chancellor, truth

50 C. Stewart, 'Evagrius Ponticus and the "Eight Generic Logismoi"', in *Garden of Evil*, pp. 3–34; Newhauser, *Treatise*, pp. 99–108.

51 Gerson, *Oeuvres*, VII.2, 524: 'autres bestes sans nombre qui tout d'un accort avec le pechie, le villain tirant, font assaut a ce royaume . . .'

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provides the counsel, justice and mercy are the provosts and bailiffs, providence is the chariot, understanding his messenger and humility his subjects and knights.[52] In other words, Gerson described the king's soul as a political realm governed by spiritual and political virtues. This is the first instance in this sermon in which Gerson suggested that a king who governed himself well could be readily recognized by the composition and behavior of his counselors and appointees. As the sermon progressed, Gerson continued to elaborate upon this argument, which he had first deployed in his 1389 sermon, *Seek the Lord*.

If free will sits on the throne of reason, Gerson explained, the four passages to the soul will be closed to the enemy. Gerson identified these passages as the ears, which are subject to flattery and adulation; the eyes, which are subject to false love; the mouth, which is subject to false speech; and the heart, which is subject to pride. If the passages are guarded well, Gerson continued, the realm will exist in peace and tranquility. In this manner, Gerson's warning implies a connection between the king's spiritual health and the health of his public kingdom.

The most significant of these four passages for our understanding of Gerson's rhetorical strategy is the ears. The ears, if not properly guarded, Gerson elaborated, will fall under the influence of Adulation, who is born of Avarice and has no concern for the damage she inflicts on her lord or her people as long as she gains whatever she wants. Worse, she will bring with her Pride and Presumption and cause her lord to hate those loyal counselors who love him and to promote those who are unworthy in their place. Such was the state, Gerson observed, of the personal realms of Xerxes of Persia, Ahab of Israel, Nebuchadnezzar and Holofernes.[53] Gerson's evaluation of these kings, however, depended on his knowledge of them as historical actors rather than on any actual knowledge of their spiritual state. In other words, Gerson's use of these kings confirms the implication in his sermon that the king's behavior provides his subjects with a window into the state of his soul.

Gerson, however, seems to have considered these implicit connections between the king's inner and outer states to be insufficient. He elaborated on the dangers of insufficiently guarded ears for the purpose of emphasizing this connection. He warned Charles VI, who was known for his willingness to accept advice, to protect himself from such dangerous adulation by soliciting advice from 'people and counselors who love nothing above God, the faith, and Christianity'. Otherwise, Gerson admonished, the king's wicked counselors might cause him to do wicked things that would damage the honor of his good reputation.[54] Gerson thus divided the king's potential counselors into two opposed groups: those who loved God and those who flattered the king for the sake of fulfilling their greedy desires.

52 Ibid., VII.2, 525.
53 Ibid.
54 Ibid., VII.2, 525–6: 'les gens et conseillers qui sur riens aiment Dieu, la foy et crestiente'.

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Having already implied that the king's choice of counselors would announce to his discerning subjects whether or not the king had conquered the deadly sins, Gerson alluded to the identity of both the 'counselors who love nothing above God' and 'the wicked things' advised by avarice-born Adulation that could cost the king his reputation as the most Christian king. In the sermon's conclusion, Gerson discussed the king's governance of the spiritual realm, which Gerson had defined earlier in his sermon as the estate of the clergy.[55] When Gerson delivered this sermon, Charles VI was planning to march to Avignon and then to escort Pope Clement VII from Avignon to Rome. Once in Rome, Charles planned to vanquish Clement's opponent and place Clement on the papal throne, thus solving the papal schism.[56] Gerson warned that such a war would only cause Jews and Saracens to rejoice. Furthermore, he implied that if the king had been informed of the university's suggestions on this matter, he would have followed them instead of planning to solve the schism by force.[57] The juxtaposition of this claim with Gerson's careful distinction between counselors who love God and those driven by avarice implies that Gerson considered the university to be the only counselor appropriate to a king who had conquered the deadly sins.[58]

In the process of making this argument, Gerson skillfully manipulated the existing discourses about the role the five physical senses played in the pursuit of Christian truth and spiritual perfection. In classical and early Christian literature, the senses were recognized as the passage through which the soul interacted with the world and therefore were considered dangerous openings through which deception and temptation could enter the soul and lead it astray. Thus, Plato portrayed the individual who allowed his senses to guide him as a man driving a chariot pulled by out-of-control horses.[59] Elaborating on this tradition, Philo of Alexandria illustrated the temptations represented by the senses in the portrait of a man with two wives, Pleasure and Virtue. In Philo's depiction, Pleasure is accompanied by a retinue of other vices including Recklessness and Faithlessness and promises to provide her husband with pleasures to satisfy each of the five senses: sight, hearing, touch, taste and smell.[60]

55 Ibid., VII.2, 521.

56 See Mourin, *Jean Gerson, prédicateur français*, p. 65.

57 Gerson, *Oeuvres*, VII.2, 532.

58 Taber has also argued that Gerson's sermon, *They will adore him*, expressed an understanding of the university-trained theologian's role in society that Gerson consistently maintained in his later works. In particular, Taber focuses on Gerson's equation of theology's role within the political and ecclesiastical realms with the role played by reason in the personal realm. See Taber, 'The Theologian and the Schism', pp. 261–5. When this sermon is examined in comparison with the existing deadly sins tradition, an additional aspect of Gerson's portrayal of the University of Paris as reason appears. This is Gerson's conflation of the personal realm with the political realm and subsequently the deadly vices with actual political actors.

59 L. Vinge, *The Five Senses: Studies in a Literary Tradition*, Acta Regiae Societatis Humaniorum Litterarum Lundensis 72 (Lund, 1975), p. 24.

60 Ibid., p. 23.

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These classical explorations of the role played by the senses in differentiating between pleasure and virtue predated the development of the deadly sins tradition, which primarily concerned itself with the quest for monastic perfection and therefore was as concerned with spiritual vice as with sensory temptation.[61] However, the two traditions did not develop in isolation from one another, and as Morton Bloomfield has suggested, it is possible that Philo's feminine personifications of Pleasure and Virtue may have influenced the *Psychomachia* of Prudentius, which explored the deadly sins tradition through an allegorical battle for the soul of humankind fought between feminine personifications of the virtues and vices.[62]

Moreover, the tradition of the five senses became an integral part of the Christian tradition because of its use by Augustine of Hippo in his exploration of the individual's inability to find Christian truth without divine assistance. In his *Confessiones*, Augustine suggested that neither truth nor God could be found through the efforts of the unaided physical senses. Rather, only after the senses had been rightly ordered by an individual's love for God and the gift of divine grace, could the individual apply the senses to the world and arrive at the only truth they were capable of announcing, namely the glory of God's creation.[63]

Like the deadly sins, the senses also played an important role in monastic hagiography, which emphasized the ability of the devil to manipulate appearances for the purpose of inviting the aspiring monk to sin. Thus, the devil caused a silver container to appear in the desert to tempt Antony of Egypt to commit the sin of avarice and appeared disguised as Christ to tempt Martin of Tours to commit the sin of pride.[64] For this reason, the Christian tradition of spiritual discernment emphasized the necessity of testing visions to see if they occurred as the result of divine inspiration, mental delusion or demonic possession.[65] This widespread belief in the devil's ability to deceive the senses persisted throughout the Middle Ages and into the early modern period. For example, elaborating on early Christian and medieval distrust of the senses,

61 Newhauser, *Treatise*, pp. 99–103.

62 Bloomfield, *Sins*, pp. 64–5.

63 Augustine of Hippo, *Confessionum libri XIII* x.34–5 and 40, ed. M. Skutella, rev. L. Verheijen, CCSL 27 (Turnhout, 1981), pp. 182–6, 190–1. For the potential destabilizing effect of the senses and the need for an 'education of the senses', see R. Newhauser, 'Peter of Limoges, Optics, and the Science of the Senses', in *Pleasure and Danger in Perception: The Five Senses in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*. Special issue of *The Senses and Society* 5,1 (2010), 28–44.

64 Athanasius, *Vita sancti Antonii monachi* 11.9–11, ed. H. W. F. M. Hoppenbrouwers, in *La plus ancienne version latine de la vie de S. Antoine par S. Athanase: Étude de critique textuelle*, Latinitas Christianorum primaeva 14 (Utrecht, 1960), pp. 91–2; and Sulpicius Severus, *Vita S. Martini*, ed. J. Fontaine, 3 vols., Sources Chrétiennes 133–5 (Paris, 1967–9), III, 306–8.

65 For concern about the authenticity of women's visions that centered on the connection between these visions and the five senses, see Elliott, *Proving Woman*, pp. 208–11.

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some early modern authors portrayed them as doors to the soul through which 'temptation, vice and evil spirits' could all easily enter.[66]

Gerson's personification of avarice-born Adulation may be understood within this context. She appears as a feminine allegorical personification of a vice, and the king's willingness to listen to her demonstrates his inability to govern his senses. The fact that she enters through the ears is all the more significant because it is through the ears that one should hear the word of God and be moved towards Christian behavior.[67] What is most significant about this figure, however, is that Gerson's deployment of her allowed him to conflate the monastic and pastoral traditions of the deadly sins. By doing so, he shifted the focus of his sermons from the king's behavior to the king's advisors.

Gerson suggested, in both the *Doctrinal aux simples gens* and *Seek the Lord*, that specific behaviors indicated the presence of specific sins. He also suggested that an individual's behavior demonstrates the individual's inner state. Members of the laity who broke the Ten Commandments, committed the seven deadly sins or disrespected the clergy, Gerson reasoned, demonstrated to all that they did not love God with Christian charity. Kings who failed to observe Lent, following Gerson's reasoning, indicated that they were so proud that they did not fear God. Such connections between specific behaviors and vices were an established part of the deadly sins tradition as it was expressed in moral treatises and confessional literature.

In *They will adore him*, however, Gerson claimed that the people of Paris, the French kingdom and the entire world could also see the vices personified as they interacted with the king. This struggle, explored first by Evagrius in the *Praktikos* and later represented as an allegorical battle by Prudentius in the *Psychomachia*, traditionally took place inside the mind of the individual.[68] In other words, Gerson turned the mind of the king inside out by conflating it with the king's political realm. In the context of this royal mind, now visible to the entire world, the University of Paris played the role of the allegorical virtues, while those of the king's advisors who disagreed with the university played the role of the allegorical vices. It was no longer necessary to infer the state of the king's soul from his behavior. This state was plainly visible in the company he chose to keep and the advisors he chose to heed.[69] Moreover, having been mapped

66 S. Clark, *Vanities of the Eye: Vision in Early Modern European Culture* (Oxford, 2007), p. 24.

67 Augustine, *Confessionum libri* 11.8, ed. Skutella, p. 199; and Clark, *Vanities of the Eye*, pp. 26–7.

68 Newhauser suggests that even though Gregory I altered the deadly sins tradition by applying it to monastic and political communities rather than to the efforts of the isolated ascetic, the tradition remained through the twelfth century a means of impressing 'the authority-based structure of Christian moral thought' upon 'the individual conscience', *Treatise*, pp. 187–91.

69 Minet-Mahy notes that the conflation of the body politic with the king's body was an established tradition by Gerson's time. See Minet-Mahy, *Esthétique et pouvoir*, p. 359. Minet-Mahy also argues that the purpose of the allegory was to identify the author as an advisor to the prince through the use of an imaginary scene that

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onto actual political actors, namely the university and the king's advisors, the virtues and vices walked freely about in the world as real individuals who could save or threaten the state as their nature directed them.[70]

The carefully constructed slippage between the personal, political and spiritual realms that characterizes this sermon may have allowed Gerson to make his point without raising the king's anger. The king could not easily object to Gerson's advice that he choose as his advisors individuals 'who love nothing above God', and Gerson never explicitly identified the king's actual advisors as the embodiment of avarice-born Adulation. Thus, the sermon left the king free to denounce flatterers while continuing to listen to his habitual advisors, and perhaps as a result, the sermon was not successful in meeting its immediate political goals. Evidence suggests that Charles VI was still planning to solve the schism by force for at least one month following Gerson's sermon.[71] Gerson, however, was invited to return to the French royal court as a preacher. The crown's continued willingness to hear Gerson preach about the sins, and his further elaboration upon this theme, suggest that both parties viewed these arguments as a form of useful communication. Additionally, in his later court sermons, Gerson continued to deploy the deadly sins tradition as justification for an extension of university authority into arguably political affairs, and thus he elaborated on both the university's function as the visible embodiment of the king's spiritual virtue or reason and the idea that the deadly sins walked abroad in France in the persons of the king's wicked advisors.

One and a half years later, in his sermon *Accipietis virtutem* (*May you receive the virtue*), Gerson urged the king of France to avoid additional wars with England, even if pursuing peace cost the king worldly honor and territory.[72] Gerson delivered the sermon on Pentecost, shortly after peace talks between England and France had been called off because of Charles VI's poor health.[73] Recognizing that his argument ran counter to the values of the royal court, Gerson denounced the heresy that argued that theology prevents a sovereign

will inspire the prince to accept allegory's message of reform. See ibid., p. 47. Her argument, however, is concerned with the efficacy of the writer's message rather than with the struggles for institutional authority engaged in by Gerson on behalf of the University of Paris.

70 Minet-Mahy notes that by 1437, theatrical presentations of the vices were incorporated into royal ceremonies. See ibid., p. 364. Gerson's political critiques and discernment treatises, however, indicate that in his understanding the presence of the vices in the world had moved beyond the theatrical.

71 Taber, 'The Theologian and the Schism', p. 118 n. 8. McGuire suggests that it was Gerson's political innocence that allowed him to deliver this sermon without incurring the king's wrath. See McGuire, *Jean Gerson and the Last Medieval Reformation*, p. 51.

72 Gerson, *Oeuvres*, VII.2, 446.

73 For the date and context see Mourin, *Jean Gerson, prédicateur français*, pp. 77–9; Morrall, *Gerson and the Great Schism*, p. 33; and McGuire, *Jean Gerson and the Last Medieval Reformation*, pp. 55–7.

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from governing well.[74] In fact, he structured the sermon to identify the University of Paris with the Holy Spirit and the advocates of war with idolaters and knights of the devil.[75]

In the first section of this three-part sermon, Gerson established that Jesus sent the Holy Spirit to the apostles for three reasons. These were to help the apostles defend themselves against the seven deadly sins, to give them the courage to be martyrs and to provide them with the wisdom necessary to lay the foundations of the early Church.[76] For this reason, Gerson explained, all Christian states must be governed in accordance with theology, inferring that in Gerson's time the study of theology fulfilled the role played by the Holy Spirit during the apostolic period. In his concluding argument Gerson urged the king to arm himself with the shield of firm belief and the sword of true wisdom and to forgo further war with England. Furthermore, he warned the king that those who promote war 'wish to nourish themselves and their horses by letting them come into battle against poor people, desiring to live off human flesh and drink human blood'. These individuals, Gerson warned, 'are the enemies of Christianity, opponents of the holy Church, fomenters of schisms' and 'guest-houses of the devil'.[77] A king who followed their advice, Gerson implied, was no better than the idolaters of Greece and Rome who were famous for waging war against the entire world contrary to the obligation to love one's neighbor.[78] Gerson concluded, however, that he knew that Charles VI would not be won over by these forces because it seemed that the king had the Holy Spirit in his soul and wished to defend and increase Christianity by seeking peace.[79] In this manner, he identified the university's theologians, or at least the anti-war message forwarded by these theologians, as the king's defense against the sins and thus the guardian of the king's soul, directing the king's actions in the same manner that the Holy Spirit had guided the apostles.[80]

74 Gerson, *Oeuvres*, VII.2, 439.

75 For the knights of the devil, see ibid., VII.2, 434. For idolators, see ibid., VII.2, 439.

76 For the Holy Spirit as a defense against the sins, see ibid., VII.2, 432–3; for the martyr's dependence on the Holy Spirit, see ibid., VII.2, 434–7; for the Holy Spirit as a teacher for the early Church, see ibid., VII.2, 437–8.

77 Ibid., VII.2, 445: 'qui veullent nourrir eulx et leurs chevaulx par laisser venir bataille contre le poure people desirent vivre de chair humaine et boyre de sang humain, ... Et peult on bien affermer que telez sont ennemys de crestiente, contraires a saincte esglise, fauteurs de scismes, hostelleries de diable . . .'

78 Ibid., VII.2, 439.

79 Ibid., VII.2, 449.

80 Douglass Taber argues that Gerson conflated the university with the apostles in this sermon. See Taber, 'The Theologian and the Schism', pp. 274–80. It is possible that, as Taber argues, Gerson did intend to compare theologians to the apostles when discussing the courage the apostles drew from the Holy Spirit which allowed them to oppose injustices; however, Gerson also likened prelates and 'the knights of Jesus Christ' to the apostles, urging both groups to be guided by the Holy Spirit. See Gerson, *Oeuvres*, VII.2, 441.

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Gerson continued to elaborate on the University of Paris as a source of divine inspiration and the guardian of the king's soul against his avarice-driven flatterers in his 1405 sermon, *Vivat rex* (*Long live the king*).[81] In this sermon, Gerson described the university as the daughter of the king, who sent out her eyes to survey the entire realm of France for the purpose of noting disturbances and inequalities and bringing these to the king's attention.[82] Gerson suggested that this visionary daughter of the king, who served as a feminine personification of divine Wisdom, could recognize the sins of the kingdom. In this manner, he created a role for her that was not unlike that played in contemporary hagiography by actual women visionaries whose special relationship with God allowed them to detect the hidden sins of others.[83]

Gerson's visionary daughter of the king reported disturbances everywhere and described a realm turned upside-down, in which people suffered violence when they deserved justice and persecution when they deserved defense, to such an extent that young girls were violated, married women engaged in prostitution and sacred places were profaned.[84] Such a disordered state is the state that Gerson predicted in *They will adore him*, when he suggested that the sins wanted to attack the soul and warned the king against listening to the voice of avarice-born Adulation.[85] It is not surprising then, that *Long live the king* explained the disastrous state of the French realm with reference to the presence of the sins: 'falsity, sloth, lust and injustice'.[86] Alluding to his earlier description of the daughter of the king sending her eyes over France, Gerson suggested that the king send his own gaze over all things for the purpose of eliminating the influence of avarice, pride, presumption, hate, carnal pleasures, lying and duplicity.[87] He then generously offered the help of the University of Paris, who as the mother of wisdom, he explained, was accustomed to the exercise of discretion.[88] Only after establishing the visionary authority of the university did Gerson offer his specific suggestions for judicial, fiscal and spiritual reform.[89]

With this depiction of the visionary university as the embodiment of divine wisdom, Gerson explored to the fullest extent the claim to spiritual and political authority that he first advanced in *The Manual for Simple People* and elaborated in his sermons *Seek the Lord* and *They will adore him*. By equating the

81 For the date and context, see Mourin, *Jean Gerson, prédicateur français*, pp. 169–75. See also McGuire, *Jean Gerson and the Last Medieval Reformation*, pp. 187–9.

82 Gerson, *Oeuvres*, VII.2, 1138–40.

83 For the ability of visionary women to discern the sins of others, see J. A. McNamara, 'The Rhetoric of Orthodoxy: Clerical Authority and Female Innovation in the Struggle with Heresy', in *Maps of Flesh and Light: The Religious Experience of Medieval Women Mystics*, ed. U. Wiethaus (Syracuse, 1993), pp. 9–27 (p. 18).

84 Gerson, *Oeuvres*, VII.2, 1138.

85 See n. 55 above.

86 Gerson, *Oeuvres*, VII.2, 1150.

87 Ibid.

88 Ibid., VII.2, 1154.

89 Ibid., VII.2, 1173–85.

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Parisian university with charity, reason and divine wisdom, Gerson placed it and its theologians in charge of discerning which agents posed a threat to the order of the Church and the French kingdom in the same manner that monastic authors argued that reason or wisdom should help the soul discern which impulses are sinful and which are not. In other words, this all-seeing visionary daughter of the king, the embodiment of divine wisdom, fulfilled the same role as other allegorical personifications of the virtues such as Lady Poverty and Lady Philosophy, which were sometimes called daughters of God.[90] As Barbara Newman has suggested, engaging in literary and theological dialogues with these allegorical figures allowed individuals to reach conclusions which seemed to transcend their own intellectual experience and perceived capacities.[91]

Such allegorical play, however, also presented the theological authority of the University of Paris as an object of discernment. That is to say, by juxtaposing his personification of the Parisian university as the embodiment of divine wisdom to the agents of vice, he invited his audience, which was accustomed to the ambiguous nature of the sins, to test her virtue. For this reason, Gerson went out of his way to demonstrate the good intentions of his visionary daughter of the king by emphasizing the daughterly affection she felt for the king and assuring his audience that because the daughter of the king relied upon the king for her protection and wellbeing, her advice could be trusted.[92] Even when Gerson invited his noble audience to examine the daughter of the king and recognize that her advice reflected the university's collective expertise in the fields of philosophy, medicine, ethics, economics, politics, law and theology, he quickly indicated that this advice was given free of political calculation. He assured his audience that the daughter of the king worked for peace rather than for one side or the other and that she offered the same advice to all who were interested.[93]

The state of near civil war that characterized politics in Paris at the time when Gerson delivered his sermon *Vivat rex* may explain why he invited his audience to apply the same method of discernment to the university's conduct that Gerson's sermons applied to the king. The fact that Gerson himself applied this type of scrutiny to university-trained theologians as part of his theological reform, however, suggests both the widespread relevance of the sins as a means of measuring authentic piety, rule and truth and Gerson's own commitment

90 B. Newman, *God and the Goddesses: Vision, Poetry, and Belief in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia, 2003), pp. 13–14.

91 Ibid., pp. 1–50. Brian Patrick McGuire suggests that between 1403 and 1408 Gerson's works attempted to apply divine law to human situtations as a means of coping with near civil war in France and the papal schism. See McGuire, *Jean Gerson and the Last Medieval Reformation*, p. 196.

92 For the assurance that the university spoke with daughterly affection, see Gerson, *Oeuvres*, VII.2, 1137. For the assertion that her dependence upon the king's protection made the daughter of the king trustworthy, see Gerson *Oeuvres*, VII.2, 1138.

93 Ibid., VII.2, 1144–5.

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to theological consistency. Gerson applied such scrutiny to the theologians of the University of Paris in his treatise titled *Against the Curiosity of Scholars*. In this treatise, Gerson attacked the tendency of theologians to pursue useless questions for the purpose of serving their own intellectual pride, suggesting that pride produced the daughter sins curiosity and singularity, which in turn caused discord within the university.[94] Such discord, Gerson argued, turned the university into a tower of Babel and prevented it from fulfilling its main purpose. According to Gerson, the university existed to prevent 'the confusion of doctrines'.[95] Like his court sermons, this treatise suggests that others will be able to measure the success the Parisian theologians enjoyed in their battle against their particular sins, pride and curiosity, by their behavior. In this case, Gerson intimated that theologians would demonstrate their victory over pride and curiosity through their ability to overcome their internal disagreements, their pursuit of a contemplative form of theological knowledge based upon a strong belief in scripture rather than intellectual pride and their ability to communicate their ideas in clear, simple language.[96]

Gerson consistently argued that victory over the sins identified the good parishioner, the good king and the good theologian. Although the sins proved rhetorically useful and he elaborated upon their meaning in each subsequent political deployment of the tradition, he seems to have constructed his arguments in dialogue with his deeper theological understanding of the relationship between the pursuit of virtue and the pursuit of truth.[97] In this manner, Gerson's deployment of the sins in his pastoral and political works complemented his writings on theological reform, which urged university theologians to adopt a contemplative approach to their quest for theological knowledge.[98] As the examples of Antony of Egypt, Evagrius and Saint Martin suggest, the battle against the sins and the pursuit of contemplative truth were one and the same. Moreover, as these ascetics and the theological writings of Augustine of Hippo emphasized, those pursuing virtue and truth constantly struggled with their own doubts about the validity of the information presented to them by their senses and the moral ambiguity encountered when vices masked themselves as virtues.[99]

94 Ibid., III, 230.

95 Ibid., III, 248–9: 'evitationem confusionis doctrinarum, ut sicut est una fides, et unum caput in spiritualibus'.

96 Gerson makes these points throughout his treatise but reiterates them forcefully in in the conclusion of his treatise. See *Oeuvres*, III, 249.

97 See n. 5 above. Also, Steven E. Ozment, following André Combes has already argued for a 'unified pattern of reform' that connected Gerson's theological reform, as expressed in his letter to Pierre D'Ailly and his treatise *Against the Curiosity of Scholars*, with his mystical theology and ecclesiastical solutions to the papal schism. His deployment of the sins would suggest that his political reform is also part of this synthesis. See Ozment, 'The University and the Church', pp. 111–26 (p. 121).

98 See n. 30 above.

99 R. Newhauser, 'On Ambiguity in Moral Theology: When the Vices Masquerade as Virtues', trans. A. Németh-Newhauser, in *Sin: Essays on the Moral Tradition in the*

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The ambiguity inherent in the interrelated deadly sins and contemplative traditions contributed to Gerson's understanding of the theologian's task and authority. In an early treatise on spiritual discernment, Gerson emphasized the difficulty theologians encountered in the practice of determining the authenticity of the spiritual experiences they themselves had or witnessed in others. He noted that those who were 'verbose, babbling, stubborn, rebellious and given to the worst of habits' to the extent that they paid more attention to wine and food than to examining their own behavior were not fit for the task.[100] In this sense, the theologian's ability to fulfill his role in society differed from that of the priest.[101] As Gerson assured his audience in his *Doctrinal aux simples gens*, sinful priests could successfully perform the sacrament, although they would burn in hell for doing so. Proud theologians, like sinful parishioners and sinful kings, however, would be deceived by their sin, and as a result, their advice would be misleading. Gerson's recourse to rhetorical and theological traditions, which stressed the constant scrutiny of self and others, invited the scrutiny of theologians. At the same time, it also encouraged collaboration between the laity, crown and theologians by inviting them to work together to fight the dangers presented by the sins through a process of humble scrutiny of themselves and others. It is this collaborative aspect of the sins tradition that may have allowed Gerson to condemn the crown and nobility so completely in his sermon *Vivat rex*. This sermon described in detail the ways in which their luxurious living, exorbitant taxation, pillaging and judicial extortion left poor parents unable to feed their crying children.[102] And yet it is a tribute to Gerson's successful strategy when addressing the nobility that he could hold a mirror up to the nobility's vices without alienating his audience.

Western Middle Ages, Collected Studies (Aldershot, 2007), essay I. For a summary of the connections that Gerson drew between moral certainty and natural perception that suggests that Gerson's thought contributed to a late medieval receptiveness to skepticism, see R. Schüssler, 'Jean Gerson, Moral Certainty and the Renaissance of Ancient Scepticism', *Renaissance Studies* 23.4 (2009), 445–62.

100 For the suggestion that this text pays particular attention to many ways theologians and other learned men might fall into error during their pursuit of contemplation, see W. L. Anderson, 'Gerson's Stance on Women', in *A Companion to Jean Gerson*, p. 301. Gerson, *Oeuvres*, III, 38–9: 'quales verbosi, garrulosi, protervie, contentiosi moribusque pessimis dediti, et plus ad epulas vinaque gustu discernendum, quam ad actus suos dijudicandum industrii et seduli . . .'.

101 See n. 22 above.

102 Gerson, *Oeuvres*, VII.2, 1170–80. For a detailed summary of the critiques Gerson forwarded in this sermon, see McGuire, *Jean Gerson and the Last Medieval Reformation*, pp. 187–9.

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CHAPTER SEVEN

'These Seaven Devils': The Capital Vices on the Way to Modernity

Richard Newhauser, Arizona State University, Tempe

Histories of the seven deadly sins often depend on the view of Morton Bloomfield (confirmed by John Bossy) in assuming an end to 'the tradition' of the heptad of vices at the transition from the Middle Ages to the early modern period. This essay argues, on the other hand, that a relative theological and sacramental disinterest in the heptad within Catholicism was in fact a historical precondition for the expansion of other functions the vices had served. The use of the vices in England from the fifteenth through the seventeenth century is examined here as a case study of the employment of the seven sins in three broad areas: religious polemics, not only in the conflict between Catholics and Protestants, but among Protestant denominations; dramatic representations of the vices in various settings, from morality plays and interludes to Marlowe's *Faustus*; and the critique of the power of the royal court, notably in Spenser's *Faerie Queene*.

Sin and periodization

The appearance of the seven deadly sins in Edmund Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* has attracted a series of scholarly commentators. In particular, the manifestations of the sins in Book II,[1] the sources of the procession of the vices at the House of Pride in Book I,[2] and the order of the sins and their internal coherence in this episode have all inspired important studies. This scholarly attention has deepened our understanding of the parade of the vices in the narrative of the Redcross Knight in Book I, and of the value of temperance in understanding the vices in Book II.[3] Yet, as important as these scholarly articles have been,

* I would like to thank Nicholas Watson for reading and commenting on a draft of this essay.

1 J. Holloway, 'The Seven Deadly Sins in *The Faerie Queene*, Book II', *Review of English Studies* n.s. 3 [9] (1952), 13–18.

2 See the long article by J. L. Lowes, 'Spenser and the *Mirour de l'omme*', *PMLA* 29.3 (1914), 388–452.

3 On the order of the sins in Book I, see J. M. Crossett and D. V. Stump, 'Spenser's

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they collectively beg a larger question, one that will guide me in this essay. The first book of Spenser's text, in particular, is not only an allegory of the soul's salvation intended for Protestant gentlemen; it is also a rejection of any previous promises of Christian salvation. In its anti-Catholic articulation of a specifically Protestant spirituality there is barely a stereotypical figure of the Catholic clergy that is not mocked mercilessly or a central point of Catholic theological doctrine that is not rebuffed sharply. Why, then, of all the imagery that Spenser had at his disposal, did he admit into a polemically conceived Protestant text such an elaborate treatment of the seven deadly sins, a staple of Catholic catechesis and moral theology, at least until the Council of Trent? To phrase this question in a larger, yet localized, context: What can be identified in late medieval uses of the communicative possibilities of the seven deadly sins in England that allows for their subsequent reception and adoption for wholly changed purposes not only in non-Catholic environments, but also, in due course, in relatively non-religious ones altogether?

To ask this question may have the appearance of taking arms against a sea of periodization. Yet I do not think it necessary to add to the widespread critique of periodization per se, though periodization can clearly result in privileging one historical era over another or in flattening out the unique or individual details of cultural phenomena in order to fit them into the master narrative of the era in which they occur or into a grand overview of history altogether. Enough has been written on these topics already to make the potential reductiveness of periodization perfectly clear. On the other hand, it is also true that periodization has heuristic value for understanding modernity's attempts to construct the steps of historical development that wind up leading to itself and pointing to an open-ended future. Unlike schemes of established eras of history current in the Middle Ages, for example, – such as the pattern of time before the law, during the law and during grace – the Renaissance established a model of three ages (Antiquity, the Middle Ages and the Renaissance) that culminated in itself. As Lee Patterson pointed out some time ago, defining periods of history that result in the self-understanding of the present characterizes the practice of history from a modern perspective, for this procedure of periodization helps define modernity in particular: 'Because its central move is to establish a sharp divide between the before of tradition and the after of modernity, it serves not only to define the modern but to enact it . . .'.[4] What we are left with is a consciousness

Inferno: The Order of the Seven Deadly Sins at the Palace of Pride', *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 14.2 (1984), 203–18; S. C. Chew, 'Spenser's Pageant of the Seven Deadly Sins', in *Studies in Art and Literature for Belle da Costa Greene*, ed. D. Miner (Princeton, 1954), pp. 37–54, who emphasizes the ordering according to the scheme of the Three Enemies: the world, the flesh and the devil. On temperance in Book II, see R. C. Fox, 'Temperance and the Seven Deadly Sins in *The Faerie Queene*, Book II', *Review of English Studies* n.s. 12 [45] (1961), 1–6.

4 L. Patterson, 'The Place of the Modern in the Late Middle Ages', in *The Challenge of Periodization: Old Paradigms and New Perspectives*, ed. L. Besserman, Garland Library of the Humanities 1938 (New York, 1996), pp. 51–66 (p. 54).

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of the boundary between the medieval and the early modern, but also of the historiographical necessity to cross that boundary.[5]

The end of the seven deadly sins?

These observations provide the foundation from which one can more closely examine two important and influential accounts of the 'end' of the seven deadly sins. Morton Bloomfield's magisterial description of the heptad of vices, which opened this subject matter for study at American universities, in many ways also channeled that research to limit the study of the seven sins to a particular convention in the Middle Ages alone. It was not just that medieval ecclesiastical institutions relied heavily, though certainly not exclusively, on the seven deadly sins to define the boundaries of immorality that was decisive for Bloomfield, but that the clear outlines of a *tradition* of the sins could be tracked through the entire Middle Ages. This tradition was manifest in various permutations, indicated by more or less mellifluous acronyms based on the first letters of the Latin names for the vices: GLAITAVS (*gula*, *luxuria*, *avaritia*, *ira*, *tristitia*, *accidia*, *vana gloria*, *superbia* [gluttony, lust, avarice, wrath, sadness, spiritual sloth, vainglory, pride]), for the Evagrian-Cassianic line of ascetic thought on eight vices that belonged to the special purview of the monastery; VIITAGL (*vana gloria* (or *inanis gloria*), *invidia*, *ira*, *tristitia*, *avaritia*, *gula* (or *ventris ingluvies*), *luxuria* [vainglory, envy, wrath, sadness, avarice, gluttony, lust]), for the Gregorian adaptation of the eight vices to make of it a heptad, all seven members of which are descended from pride; SIIAAGL (*superbia*, *invidia*, *ira*, *avaritia*, *accidia*, *gula*, *luxuria* [pride, envy, wrath, avarice, spiritual sloth, gluttony, lust]), for the most common workaday list of vices in the high and late Middle Ages that often served the needs of confessors; and finally SALIGIA (*superbia*, *accidia*, *luxuria*, *ira*, *gula*, *invidia*, *avaritia* [pride, spiritual sloth, lust, wrath, gluttony, envy, avarice]), popularized as a mnemonic device by Henry of Segusio in the thirteenth century.[6] Such is the formative power

5 As James Simpson has noted, 'By understanding how the Reformation attacked, and thereby created, the Middle Ages, we equally understand what is generating our own work as scholars of later medieval and early modern England.' See J. Simpson, 'The Rule of Medieval Imagination', in *Images, Idolatry, and Iconoclasm in Late Medieval England. Textuality and the Visual Image*, ed. J. Dimmick, J. Simpson and N. Zeeman (Oxford, 2002), pp. 4–24 (p. 24). See more recently the contributions to *Cultural Reformations. Medieval and Renaissance in Literary History*, ed B. Cummings and J. Simpson, Oxford Twenty-First Century Approaches to Literature 2 (Oxford, 2010).

6 See Newhauser, *Treatise*, pp. 180–202. On the acronym SALIGIA, see also J. Bossy, *Christianity in the West 1400–1700* (Oxford and New York, 1985), p. 38, who aptly notes that this order was developed under the pressure of humanists and as a way to give the sins of concupiscence more prominence; Bloomfield, *Sins*, pp. 86–7; A. Watson, 'Saligia', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 10 (1947), 148–50; O. Zöckler, *Das Lehrstück von den sieben Hauptsünden*, in O. Zöckler, *Biblische und kirchenhistorische Studien* (Munich, 1893), Part 3, 66 ff.

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of this habitual method of conceiving of immorality, so Bloomfield maintains in his analysis of Spenser, the last writer dealt with in his volume, that when an author makes use of the heptad (or octad) but loses sight of its tradition of order and arrangement in the lists of sins, he or she becomes a person 'of the full-blown Renaissance, and modern (i.e., nonmedieval) at the core'.[7] Bloomfield adduces evidence of this division between tradition and modernity in Spenser's work from the 'grotesque order' of the sins at the House of Pride, the author's 'freedom of manner' in presenting the vices, and his reliance on humanism. One can observe that while Bloomfield mentions distinctions in religious orientation as part of the division between the treatment of the capital vices in the Middle Ages or the Renaissance (and beyond), denominational criteria are ultimately not decisive for him.

There is, of course, much that is valuable in Spenser for anyone interested in the history of the vices, and I will return to his work at the end of this essay, but one can note initially that none of Bloomfield's criteria for novelty seems wholly sufficient to define a cultural shift from one era to the next in the presentation and use of the lists of vices. First, 'freedom of manner' seems tautological at best: the liberties Spenser takes with medieval traditions are explained by the Renaissance, which is then exemplified by the way Spenser takes liberties with medieval traditions. Second, were the treatment of the vices by humanists a criterion of the non-medieval engagement with the sins, one could hardly account for something like Thomas More's *The Four Last Things*, composed *c*. 1522. Though More wrote this text after the initial phase of his interest in humanism, its reliance on experiential observation and human reasoning continues his work on moral philosophy, now in the tradition of the *ars moriendi*, as one of the disciplines of the *studia humanitatis*.[8] This devotional treatise is constructed around the common four matters of medicinal contemplation, namely vices, virtues, the pains of hell and the joys of heaven. Although it breaks off incomplete in the treatment of sloth, the treatise begins its discussion of the vices with words wholly familiar to students of the seven deadly sins:

> . . . let us now make some proof of this one part of our medicine, how the remembrance of death, in this fashion considered in his kind, will work with us to the preservation of our souls from every kind of sin, beginning at the sin that is the very head and root of all sins, that is to wit, pride, the mischievous mother of all manner vice.[9]

7 Bloomfield, *Sins*, p. 241.

8 See the recent issue of *Renaissance Studies* devoted to the *studia humanitatis*, and in particular M. McLaughlin and D. Rundle, 'Introduction', *Renaissance Studies* 17.1 (2003), 1–8.

9 *The Four Last Things*, in *The English Works of Sir Thomas More*, ed. W. E. Campbell, 2 vols. (London, 1931), I, 486–99, http://www.luminarium.org/renlit/morebib.htm (accessed 17 May 2012). For Thomas More and devotional practices in the early modern period, see D. G. Pitard, 'An Undescribed Manuscript of St Thomas More's "A Devout Prayer" and its Relation to Mid Sixteenth-Century Devotional Practice',

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Third, rearranging the order of the vices is as common during the Middle Ages as afterwards. In medieval uses of the sins, the determination of what was to be considered the root or leader of all the other vices was often more important than the order of the sins in the heptad (or octad) that sprang from this source of evil,[10] and one can maintain that this is so in spite of the many statements of concatenation among the vices found in treatises on moral theology. Indeed, the mixing of authoritative sources on the vices resulted in a cacophony of sin-orders. One can point, for example, to the words of an English preacher in a Rogation Days sermon preserved in a fifteenth-century manuscript in Cambridge which borrows heavily for its treatment of the vices from Malachy of Ireland's thirteenth-century treatise *De veneno vitiorum*.[11] Yet, the English preacher does not follow the order of vices found in Malachy's treatise and to justify the liberty he takes with his source he notes that 'Peter Lombard's *Liber sententiarum*, book 2, distinction 42, chapter 7, has the order [I am following here], which I find acceptable for the present'.[12]

If religious differences do not play a central role in Bloomfield's version of the end of the seven deadly sins tradition, the movement from Catholicism to Protestantism is very much central to John Bossy's understanding of the abandonment of the heptad as the mainstay of Christian thinking on vice and virtue. It is not that the Reformation is to be credited with laying a claim on the Decalogue instead of on the sins as the foundation of a Christian ethics, but that the Reformation's 'insistence on a scriptural ethics caused all resistance [to exchanging the deadly sins for the Decalogue] to collapse'.[13] Bossy is careful

in *Neglected English Literature: Recusant Writings of the 16th–17th Centuries: Papers from the Recusant Sessions of the International Medieval Congresses at Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, Michigan (USA), 1990–1994*, ed. D. L. Latz, Salzburg Studies in English Literature, Elizabethan and Renaissance Studies 92/24 (Salzburg, 1997), pp. 107–30.

10 L. K. Little, 'Pride Goes before Avarice: Social Change and the Vices in Latin Christendom', *The American Historical Review* 76.1 (1971), 16–49 (p. 18).

11 Malachy of Ireland, *Libellus septem peccatorum mortalium venena eorumque remedia describens, qui dicitur Venenum Malachiae* (Paris, 1518). On the transmission of the text, see M. W. Bloomfield *et al.*, *Incipits of Latin Works on the Virtues and Vices, 1100–1500 A.D.*, Publications of the Mediaeval Academy of America 88 (Cambridge, MA, 1979), no. 5102, corrected and expanded in R. Sharpe, *Titulus: Identifying Medieval Latin Texts, An Evidence-Based Approach* (Turnhout, 2003), pp. 218–45, with further corrections and notices of more textual witnesses in R. Newhauser and I. Bejczy, *A Supplement to Morton W. Bloomfield et al., "Incipits of Latin Works on the Virtues and Vices, 1100–1500 A.D."*, Instrumenta Patristica et Mediaevalia, Research on the Inheritance of Early and Medieval Christianity 50 (Turnhout, 2008).

12 Cambridge, Jesus College MS Q. A. 13, fol. 117r (= V.59r): '. . . Magister Sentenciarum libro 2° distinccione 42 capitulo 7 habet istum ordinem, qui michi placet ad presens.' This is sermon J/5–7 in S. Wenzel, *Latin Sermon Collections from Later Medieval England: Orthodox Preaching in the Age of Wyclif*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature 53 (Cambridge, 2005), p. 521; the manuscript is described on 140–55. The sermon is examined at greater length in R. Newhauser, 'Preaching the "Contrary Virtues"', *Mediaeval Studies* 70 (2008), 135–62 (pp. 157–60).

13 Bossy, 'Arithmetic', p. 227.

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to acknowledge the presence of the Ten Commandments in statements of catechesis by Catholic theologians beginning in the thirteenth century, though Carla Casagrande and Silvana Vecchio have demonstrated more recently in their detailed article on the vices and the Decalogue how this theological tendency to locate the Ten Commandments in the center of Christian morality can be moved back even further in time, to Peter Lombard's *Liber sententiarum*, where the Decalogue and the seven sins are both dealt with side by side, but without any perceived necessity to reconcile one with the other.[14] One must be grateful to Bossy for emphasizing the way a specific principle of order – whether of the seven sins or the Ten Commandments – was decisive in the moral evaluation of behavior in genres such as the manual of confession and the *summa de penitentia*.[15] He is also surely correct to identify the search for a scripturally authenticated, legally founded ethics as one of the key elements in the development of the place of the Decalogue in late medieval Catholic moral thought that then carried over into, and was also stimulated by, the Reformation.

But caveats are in order. On the one hand, the harmonizing of the Decalogue and the sin-heptad was not quite as difficult as Bossy makes it appear: Bonaventure, for example, argued that the Ten Commandments contained within themselves all of the seven deadly sins, lust and avarice explicitly and the other five implicitly, and his system became very popular in Franciscan pastoral literature.[16] As any reader of later Middle English catechetical and penitential treatises can corroborate, the Decalogue has a firm place along with the heptad in elucidations of the faith. To be sure, Chaucer's Parson, after dealing for page after page with the sins and their remedies, and perhaps partially in a reaction to the Lollard emphasis on the Decalogue, may have declined to expound the Ten Commandments because 'so heigh a doctrine I lete to divines', but he also expresses the hope that the commandments have all been included in his penitential handbook.[17] Numerous other treatises, however, in the vein of *The Book on Vices and Virtues*, for example, give pride of place, if not nearly the lion's share of treatment, to the Decalogue.[18] And on the other hand, Bossy does not

14 See especially Lombard, *Sentences* Book 2, distinction 42, and Book 3, distinctions 37–40, in *Magistri Petri Lombardi Sententiae in iv libris distinctae*, ed. I. C. Brady, 3rd edn, 2 vols., Spicilegium Bonaventurianum 4 and 5 (Grottaferrata, 1971–81), I, 566–72, II, 206–29. See C. Casagrande and S. Vecchio, 'La classificazione dei peccati tra settenario e decalogo (secoli XIII-XV)', *Documenti e studi sulla tradizione filosofica medievale* 5 (1994), 331–95 (p. 334).

15 See R. Rusconi, *L'ordine dei peccati: la confessione tra Medioevo ed età moderna* (Bologna, 2002), p. 32.

16 Bonaventure of Balneoreggio, *Commentarius in III Sententiarum*, distinction 37, question 1, in Bonaventure, *Opera omnia*, ed. Collegium S. Bonaventurae, 10 vols. (Quaracchi, 1882–1902), III, 824; see Casagrande and Vecchio, 'Classificazione', p. 349.

17 Geoffrey Chaucer, 'The Parson's Tale' (X, 957), in *The Riverside Chaucer*, ed. L. D. Benson *et al.*, 3rd edn (New York, 1987), p. 322.

18 *The Book of Vices and Virtues: A Fourteenth Century English Translation of the Somme le*

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fully acknowledge the place of the heptad in some types of Protestantism, seen in particular in England against the background of Laudian devotion, as this is represented for example in John Cosin's *Collection of Private Devotions*.[19] This 'classical Anglican version of the Primer and of the canonical hours of prayer'[20] contains a lengthy exposition of the Decalogue, but it also does not omit a brief recitation of the heptad of vices (among other catechetical pieces typical of medieval moral thought). Cosin was attacked by some with more Puritan inclinations in theology, but *A Collection of Private Devotions* enjoyed no little popularity, and eleven editions, in the seventeenth century.[21] For those who saw the Church of England as Catholicism reformed, in other words, the heptad of vices still had a role to play, though a far more muted one than seen in the Middle Ages. Yet, as Bossy claims, the history of 'the transition from the Seven Sins' that he traces in Catholic catechetical and penitential treatises clearly does come to an end with *Catechismus ex decreto Concilii Tridentini* (*The Catechism of the Council of Trent*, 1566). This document not only omits an exposition of the heptad altogether while devoting a long and detailed section to the Decalogue that is based on an understanding of the commandments as 'the summary of the whole Law', but it also uses the ten precepts as the basis for confession, arguing, for example, that '[m]ortal sins . . . are all to be confessed, even though they be most secret, or be opposed only to the last two Commandments of the Decalogue'.[22]

Both Bloomfield and Bossy, then, trace a clear historical arc in the development of the seven deadly sins in which the thought of the desert Fathers on the octad of 'evil thoughts' marks the commencement,[23] the function of the heptad in preaching and the sacrament of penance and all that surrounds it marks the apogee, and the gradual elimination of the heptad as a catechetical and penitential category – because of humanist individualism or the way the Reformation transformed 'traditional Christianity' – marks the conclusion.[24]

roi of Lorens d'Orléans, ed. W. N. Francis, EETS OS 217 (London, 1942).

19 John Cosin, *A Collection of Private Devotions: In the Practice of the Ancient Chvrch, Called The Hovres of Prayer: As they were much after this maner published by Authoritie of Q. Eliz[abeth], 1560: Taken Out of the Holy Scriptures, the Ancient Fathers, and the diuine Seruice of our owne Church* (London, 1627), ed. P. G. Stanwood with the assistance of D. O'Connor (London, 1967). The sin heptad is found here on p. 56.

20 P. G. Stanwood, 'Introduction', in ibid., p. xxvi.

21 See below, p. 172.

22 *Catechism of the Council of Trent for Parish Priests, Issued by Order of Pope Pius V*, parts III and II, respectively, trans. J. A. McHugh and C. J. Callan (New York, 1923), pp. 357, 288.

23 For the octad of 'evil thoughts', see C. Stewart, 'Evagrius Ponticus and the "Eight Generic Logismoi"', in *Garden of Evil*, pp. 3–34.

24 On the question of individualism as it emerges from the Renaissance, see now J. J. Martin, *Myths of Renaissance Individualism* (Houndmills, 2004). For a critique of Bossy's presentation of 'traditional Christianity', see B. Scribner's review of *Christianity in the West, 1400–1700* in *The English Historical Review* 101 [400] (1986), 683–6.

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Such a narrative, with its clear beginning, middle and end, provides a satisfyingly complete, Aristotelian shape to the aesthetics of history. Yet, both authors are also clearly conscious of elements that do not fit this narrative, for they briefly explore, though at times only in passing, Renaissance treatments of the seven deadly sins. These details have a way of being bracketed out of the larger narrative, however, for they are demonstrably not part of the self-reflective story being told of origins, development and decline in the history of the vices. Where Bloomfield mentions early modern (and modern) uses of the sins, for example, they become merely witnesses to the 'relics of the medieval tradition'.[25] In other words, both authors illustrate that hand in hand with the power of the myth of beginnings comes the equivalent potency of the myth of endings. Nevertheless, it is clear that the waning of the seven deadly sins in Catholic sacramental and penitential theology does not signal the end of the history of a conceptual category that has manifestly remained productive up to the present day. Trivializations of the subject matter abound in contemporary uses of the seven deadly sins, of course, much as the figure of the devil can be rendered comical as a way to both evoke and control the danger of evil through laughter – while at the same time the undercurrents of immorality inherent in the figure of Satan or the sins are still available to be harnessed, even for commercial exploitation.[26] On the other hand, though the sin-heptad obviously does not command a near hegemony in ethical thought today as it did in the Middle Ages, and where modern authors make use of it, they do so under vastly changed historical circumstances and for vastly different purposes than the heptad of vices was used in sacramental contexts by medieval authors, one need only turn to recent publications to witness the undiluted vitality of the vices as categories for serious cultural reflection. Such works as the series of articles published in 1993 by *The New York Times Book Review* or, more recently, the volumes published by Oxford University Press on the seven sins, or Aviad Kleinberg's very perceptive study, demonstrate the continuity and productivity of thought on the vices since the Middle Ages.[27]

25 Bloomfield, *Sins*, p. 441 n. 265.

26 For example, Unilever introduced into its line of Magnum ice creams some years ago a series that referenced the seven deadly sins, Michael David Vineyards markets a bottle of wine called '7 Deadly Zins', Jaguar commercials used some of the sins as a marketing device and the Accoutrements company has harnessed the vices for the wristband fad. This list could go on at greater length to include cosmetics, tea and any number of other commercial products. A number of the uses of the capital vices in contemporary pop culture are surveyed in C. Jamison, 'The New Seven Deadly Sins', in *Defining Medievalism(s) II*, ed. K. Fugelso, Studies in Medievalism 18 (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 265–88 (pp. 265–77).

27 The *New York Times Book Review* series is available in collected form: T. Pynchon [*et al.*], *Deadly Sins* (New York, 1993). The Oxford University Press series was begun in 2003 by J. Epstein, *Envy* and F. Prose, *Gluttony*, continued in 2004 with S. Blackburn, *Lust* and P. A. Tickle, *Greed*, and was completed in 2005 by M. E. Dyson, *Pride*, R. A. F. Thurman, *Anger* and W. Wasserstein, *Sloth*. A. Kleinberg, *Seven Deadly Sins: A Very Partial List*, trans. S. Emanuel in collaboration with the author (Cambridge, MA,

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As the recent work on the sins by Casagrande and Vecchio notes, the capital vices are no longer in daily use, even in a religious context, nor do they fulfill the function they served for a millennium and more as the most important and systematic summation of evil applicable to all human beings as a guide for the individual conscience.[28] And yet the vices are still very much with us, so that it is useful to ask how the construct of the seven deadly sins has remained productive when the tradition the vices originally articulated has waned.

Might it not be that as a first step in the long and continuing reception-history of the capital vices beyond the Middle Ages a relative theological and sacramental disinterest in the heptad was in fact a historical precondition for the expansion of other functions served by the vices? That is to say, loosed from their context in a technical, denominational environment, as cultural constructions the sins were available to continue to be invested with different, sometimes wider meanings in their development from the medieval to the early modern period.[29] The discontinuity of the 'end' of the seven deadly sins tradition in its usage in penitential theology as traced by Bloomfield and Bossy, then, appears as the necessary prelude to the continuity of the reception of uses of the vices in far different contexts and for far different purposes. This is to disagree decidedly with Hans Blumenberg's model for the development of modernity, which is a reaction to the view that the modern amounts to the secularization of previously sacred categories in the Middle Ages.[30] Instead of this secularization theory, Blumenberg posits modernity as a radical break with the medieval that substantiates itself through itself, without the need to account for its legitimacy in a reckoning with its epochal predecessor. Blumenberg's view, thus, necessitates only a discontinuity in the movement from the medieval to the modern, an important part of which requires the disappearance of sacred ontology and the progress of 'science'.[31] Yet, opposed to this conception, one can confirm that although the specific uses of the seven sins for Protestant

2008). See also a study such as C. Ricks, *Dylan's Visions of Sin* (London, 2003), for a further example of the productive use of the heptad in serious scholarship.

28 Casagrande and Vecchio, *Vizi*, p. 220.

29 On cultural constructions, see R. Newhauser, 'Introduction: Cultural Construction and the Vices', in *Seven Deadly Sins*, pp. 1–17.

30 H. Blumenberg, *Die Legitimität der Neuzeit* (Frankfurt/M., 1966); English translation as *The Legitimacy of the Modern Age*, trans. R. M. Wallace (Cambridge, MA, 1983). The neglect of historical complexity in favor of regarding particular traditions of philosophical thought as sources of historical change has been pointed out by a number of Blumenberg's critics: see, e.g., the reviews of *The Legitimacy of the Modern Age* by M. Jay, *History and Theory* 24 (1985), 183–96; and W. J. Bouwsma, *Journal of Modern History* 56 (1984), 698–701.

31 See the interesting recent critique of Blumenberg's thesis in A. Cole and D. V. Smith, 'Outside Modernity', in *The Legitimacy of the Middle Ages*, ed. A. Cole and D. V. Smith (Durham and London, 2010), pp. 1–36 (pp. 2–6), and indeed in a number of essays in this collection. For a reaction to Blumenberg's view of curiosity as it forms part of his view of modernity, see R. Newhauser, 'Towards a History of Human Curiosity: A Prolegomenon to its Medieval Phase', *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift* 56 (1982), 559–75; reprint in Newhauser, *Sin*, essay XIII.

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purposes of a wide variety are much changed from their medieval deployments, a good deal of religious content remains in early modern treatments of the sin-heptad, even while other functions are emphasized that were perhaps only inchoately present in the construction of the vices in the Middle Ages and that lie beyond the dominant catechetical and penitential fields of that period. The longevity of the seven deadly sins in English testifies to the permutations and continuity, under changed circumstances and for different purposes, of what had originated in religious, specifically Catholic, moral thought. And this is, in fact, a particularly propitious moment in which to emphasize that fact. Eamon Duffy and other scholars of early modern religious history have contributed recently to a reassessment of the view that late Tudor England was essentially Protestant and that Catholicism amounted only to a problematic dimension of English society. Instead of the view that Catholicism was one of the 'alien' elements against which early modern English identity was defined, Duffy invokes the view of an era of religious complexity, even pluralism, and he speaks of 'the continuing and pervasive influence of Catholicism as a political, religious and cultural force in the England of Elizabeth and James'.[32]

The sins and religious polemics

One of the most important elements of continuity in the history of the sins is the area of religious controversy, in which the sins are used as a means to characterize the moral failings of the opposing faction while they also maintain the claim of purity of one's own group. Though the Wycliffites were much less homogeneous as a movement than early Protestants made them out to be,[33] and admitted a wider range of opinions on doctrinal matters than what is truncated by the singular designation of 'heresy',[34] a Lollard text such as *The Lanterne of Li3t* can be evoked to illustrate how a type of unequivocal polemicism was surfacing in religious discourse in the late Middle Ages that then could be appropriated and changed by Reformation writers. Generally considered to be a product of the early fifteenth century, *The Lanterne of Li3t* distinguishes three different meanings of 'church' in the English society of its day: first, Christ's Church or the domain of the faithful; second, the material or

[32] E. Duffy, 'Bare Ruined Choirs: Remembering Catholicism in Shakespeare's England', in *Theatre and Religion: Lancastrian Shakespeare*, ed. R. Dutton *et al.* (Manchester, 2003), pp. 40–57 (p. 40). See also D. MacCulloch, M. Kaven and E. Duffy, 'Recent Trends in the Study of Christianity in Sixteenth-Century Europe', *Renaissance Quarterly* 59.3 (2006), 697–731.

[33] See C. Davies, '"Poor Persecuted Little Flock" or "Commonwealth of Christians": Edwardian Protestant Concepts of the Church', in *Protestantism and the National Church in Sixteenth Century England*, ed. P. Lake and M. Dowling (London, 1987), pp. 78–95.

[34] Compare R. N. Swanson, *Religion and Devotion in Europe, c. 1215–c. 1515* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 272–4.

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institutionalized Church, comprising both the good and the evil in the extant Christian community; and third, the Church of the devil, locked in battle with the first Church for the souls of the members of the second Church.[35] This is not yet a manifestation of Lollardy as a 'premature Reformation' as it is found in other texts, since the battle for the souls of the good in the material Church is a matter of reforming the existing institution, not replacing it.[36] Nevertheless, most of the prelates in the existing ecclesiastical institution are considered here part of the devil's Church, the structure of which is described by reference to many of the seven deadly sins:

> Þe reryng vp of þis chirche is in glotenye & leccherie as þe wisman seiþ . . . And þe hilling of þis chirche is pride & hiȝenes of liif as þe prophete seiþ . . . Of þis chirche wiþ þis maner of bilding spekiþ Crist in his gospel: . . . who þat heeriþ my wordis & doiþ hem not shal bilijke a foltid man þat haþ bildid his hous vpon þe grauel of coueitise & mysbileue & reyne of glotenye & leccherie cam doun on þis chirche and þe wyndis of pride blewen vpon þis chirche and feersli þise forseid synnes fellen in to þis chirche.[37]

And earlier in the text the repercussions of the full heptad in the second Church are likened to the dangerous, frightening or corrosive actions of the sea.[38] In the polemical ecclesiology of this Lollard text, then, the sins typify both the constant temptations of evil and the moral failings of the institution's clerical hierarchy, its darkness, as opposed to the light of virtue in the first Church, to which the author claims adherence.

Among the early Protestants, this vivid dichotomy (light vs. dark) was only emphasized, which may help to explain why *The Lanterne of Liȝt* was printed (and also proscribed by the Catholic Church) in the first half of the sixteenth century.[39] In this kind of polemical usage by Protestants, the sins become characteristic of a failed Catholic institution, from which a definite break has now been made. Hugh Latimer's sermons not only emphasize this dichotomy, but in a text such as the 'Sermon on the Plow', he also projects himself into the role of the peasant-prophet that looks back to the figure of Piers the Plowman in Langland's work.[40] In his sermon for the twenty-third Sunday after

35 D. S. Dunnam, 'A Note on the Three Churches in *The Lanterne of Liȝt*', *Notes and Queries* 38,1 [236] (1991), 20–2.

36 N. Watson, 'Vernacular Apocalyptic: On *The Lanterne of Liȝt*', *Revista Canaria de Estudios Ingleses* 47 (2003), 115–27. Cf. A. Hudson, *The Premature Reformation: Wycliffite Texts and Lollard History* (Oxford, 1988), pp. 318–20.

37 *The Lanterne of Liȝt edited from MS. Harl. 2324*, ch. 13, ed. L. M. Swinburn, EETS OS 151 (London, 1917; reprint Millwood, 1988), pp. 129–30.

38 Ibid., ch. 8, pp. 44–5.

39 M. Aston, *Lollards and Reformers: Images and Literacy in Late Medieval Religion*, History Series 22 (London, 1984), pp. 221, 228, 230.

40 R. L. Kelly, 'Hugh Latimer as Piers Plowman', *SEL: Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900* 17.1 (1977), 13–26. For Latimer's influence on reforms under Henry VIII, see E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400–1580* (New Haven, 1992), pp. 388–98.

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Trinity on the theme of Philippians 3. 17–18 ('Brethren, join in imitating me . . .'), preached in Lincolnshire in 1552, the Protestant martyr interrupts a series of warnings to the listeners that 'not onely the naughty curate shall goe to the deuyll, but also all those that folowe his naughty doctrine'. He wishes to excuse himself for having reiterated this message perhaps too often and turns to a humorous *exemplum* to illustrate the pedagogical necessity of often repeating oneself:

> I will tell you now a prety story of a Fryer to refresh you withall: A limitour of the gray fryers in the tyme of his limitation preached many tymes, and had but one Sermon at all tymes: Which sermon was of the tenne commaundementes. And because this fryer had preached thys sermon so often: one that hearde it before, tolde the fryars seruaunt that his master was called, fryar John ten commandments: wherefore the seruaunt shewed the frier hys Master thereof, and aduised him to preach of some other matters: for it grueued the seruaunt to here his master derided. Now the fryer made aunswer, sayng: Belike then thou canst the x. commaundementes well, seeing thou hast heard them so many a time. Yea sayd the seruaunt, I warraunt you, let me heare them sayth the master: then he began, pride, couetuousnesse, lechery, and so numbred the deadly sinnes, for the ten commaundementes.[41]

Designed as a way of disparaging Catholics who persist in their 'naughty doctrine', the text demonstrates the longevity of the sin-heptad, even as it acknowledges the growing dominance of the Decalogue in the field of homiletics. It also looks back to anti-fraternal literature to make the ineffectiveness of friars a matter of derisive humor, along with a simple-minded Catholic laity that can remember only the heptad of vices. Latimer enjoyed the patronage of the Duchess of Suffolk at this period of his life and often preached to her household, but the death of Edward VI and the ascendancy of Queen Mary made him vulnerable for his uncompromising rejection of Catholicism.

In 1585 and 1586 a series of seven exorcisms took place near London which became the attraction of the Catholic community in the capital and its environs. One of those treated for demonic possession was a young man named Richard Mainy. He had been sent to France for education at the English College for Catholic refugees at Douay and had taken minor orders, but when he returned to England dissatisfied with the seminary life he conformed to the Church of England. His brother, who had remained a pious Catholic, brought him to

41 Hugh Latimer, 'The Fourth Sermon of Master Latymers. 1552', in *Frutefull Sermons Preached by the Right Reverend Father, and Constant Martyr of Iesus Christ M. Hugh Latymer Newly Imprinted: with others, not heretofore set forth in print, to the edifying of all which will dispose them selues to the readyng of the same . . . Sene and allowed accordyng to the order appointed in the Queenes Maiesties iniunctions, 1571* (London, [1572]), 93v-94r. The text is repeated almost verbatim in *Shakespeare's Jest Book: A Hundred Mery Talys*, ed. H. Oesterley (London, 1866; facsimile reproduction of Oesterley's edition with an introduction by L. R. N. Ashley [Gainesville, 1970]), pp. 100–3 (pp. 102–3, no. LVII). See S. Wenzel, 'Preaching the Seven Deadly Sins', in *Garden of Evil*, 145–69 (p. 145); F. Rogers, *The Seven Deadly Sins* (London, 1907), pp. 66–7.

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the exorcism priests who identified in Richard Mainy the signs of possession, including the fact that he had turned his back on his order and had chosen to conform to the Church of England. His own account of the exorcism, written in 1602 for the Anglican commissioners, is an elaborate excuse for his wild behavior during the period of his 'possession' that places the blame for this conduct on the priest who carried out the ceremony. It therefore heightens the grotesque aspects of the exorcism, which reached a crescendo when the priest ordered each of the spirits accompanying the devil inside Mainy to 'come up in their degrees one after another, and to declare his name by his principall quality'. What Mainy then acted out was a charade of the seven deadly sins in which he used gestures and speech to stage the sins as stereotypes of social and moral disorder. The incident is fascinating enough to quote at length:

> *By commaundement of the Exorcist (which was* Master *Edmunds), the devill in Master* Mainy *confessed his name to be* Modu, *and that he had besides himselfe seaven other spirits, all of them Captaines, and of great fame. There-upon Master* Edmunds *commaunded that every one of the seaven should come up in their degrees one after another, and to declare his name by his principall quality. Then Master* Mainy *by the instigation of the first of the seaven began to set his hands unto his side, curled his haire,*[42] *and used such gestures as Master* Edmunds *presently affirmed that that spirit was* Pride. *Heere-with he began to curse and banne, saying,* What a poxe doe I heere? I wil stay no longer amongst a company of rascall Priests, but goe to the Court, and brave it amongst my fellowes, the noble men there assembled. *And then after Master Edmunds had said that hee shewed himselfe thereby to be the spirit of* Pride, *he went downe again, and Master* Mainy *became very quiet, and fell to his prayers. But Master* Mainy *could not tell one word (as he reported) of any thing that had beene then said, onely he affirmed that he had all the while felt a great paine in his body. Then Master* Edmunds *did proceede againe with his Exorcismes, and suddainly the sences of* Mainy *were taken from him, his belly began to swell, and his eyes to stare, and suddainly cryed out,* ten pounds in the hundred; *he called for a Scrivener to make a bond, swearing* that hee would not lend his money without a pawne. *Master* Edmunds *demaunding of that devill whether he were the same that had spoken before, he said no; but yet affirmed that hee was a good fellow, and a companion of his, and one that bare as great rule in England as any other devill. There could be no other talke had of this spirit but of mony, bargaining, and usury, so as all the company deemed this devill to be the author of* Covetousnesse, *not expecting any instruction therein from Father* Edmunds. *After a while this devill goeth downe as the other did. Master* Mainy *recovereth his sences, falleth to his prayers, and ere long Master* Edmunds

42 For curling the hair as a sign of courtly decadence, see Baldesar Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier*, trans. G. Bull, rev. edn (London, 1976; reprint, 2003), p. 61: 'I don't want [the courtier] to appear soft and feminine as so many try to do, when they not only curl their hair and pluck their eyebrows but also preen themselves like the most wanton and dissolute creatures imaginable.' See *The Courtier of Count Baldesar Castilio, deuided into foure Bookes: Verie necessarie and profitable for young gentlemen and gentlewomen abiding in court, pallace, or place, done into English by Thomas Hobby* (London, 1588), sig. C7v.

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> *beginneth againe his Exorcismes, wherein hee had not proceeded farre but up commeth another spirit, singing most filthy and baudy songs. Every word almost that hee spake was nothing but ribaldry. They that were present with one voyce affirmed that devill to be the author of* Luxury. *And Master* Edmunds *beeing not able to endure such lewd speeches, commaunded him to be silent, and to get him downe forthwith againe. The devill obeyed, Master* Mainy *recovereth, falleth to his prayers, and afterwards Master* Edmunds *goeth forward with the rest. And thus he did proceed till he had raised up all the seaven Captaines, and compelled them to shew themselves as the other had doone.* Envy *was described by disdainfull lookes, and contemptuous speeches;* Wrath *by furious gestures, and talke as though hee would have fought;* Gluttony *by vomiting, and* Sloth *by gaping and snorting as if hee had been a sleepe, Master* Mainy *at every time recovering his sences and falling to prayer as he had done before. After these seaven devils had thus shewed themselves and were again at rest in Master* Mainy, *it seemed good to Master* Edmunds *to try what he could doe with* Modu *their prince and Captaine*.[43]

The entire incident caused a considerable stir not only among the Catholic community in and around London, but also among the authorities of the Church of England who eventually arrested everyone involved. Yet it was not the exorcisms themselves that upset the authorities, but rather what they thought might be a link between these sessions of casting out devils and the Babington Plot, a conspiracy discovered at about the same time that the exorcisms had taken place which intended to kill Queen Elizabeth and re-establish Catholic rule in England under Mary, Queen of Scots.[44] It was in fact her involvement in the plot which led directly to Mary's conviction and execution. The plot had

43 [Samuel Harsnett,] *A Declaration of Egregious Popish Impostures, to with-draw the harts of her Majesties Subjects from their allegiance, and from the truth of Christian Religion professed in England, under the pretence of casting out Devils* (London, 1603), ed. F. W. Brownlow, in *Shakespeare, Harsnett, and the Devils of Denham* (Newark, 1993), p. 410. For Shakespeare's use of the incident, see S. Greenblatt, 'Shakespeare and the Exorcists', in *Shakespeare and the Question of Theory*, ed. P. Parker and G. Hartmann (New York, 1985; reprint New York, 1991), pp. 163–87; S. Greenblatt, *Shakespearean Negotiations: The Circulation of Social Energy in Renaissance England* (Berkeley, 1988), pp. 94–128.

44 For the history of the incident, see J. H. Pollen, *Mary Queen of Scots and the Babington Plot, Edited from the Original Documents in the Public Record Office, the Yelverton MSS., and Elsewhere*, Publications of the Scottish History Society, 3rd s. 3 (Edinburgh, 1922). For further historical treatment of the plot, see A. G. Smith, *The Babington Plot* (London, 1936); J. B. Black, *The Reign of Elizabeth, 1558–1603*, 2nd edn, Oxford History of England 8 (Oxford, 1959); cf. also T. M. McCoog, *The Society of Jesus in Ireland, Scotland, and England 1541–1588: 'Our Way of Proceeding?'*, Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought 60 (Leiden, 1996). For some readings of the literary significance of the plot, see D. A. Northrop, 'Mercilla's Court as Parliament', *The Huntington Library Quarterly* 36.2 (1973), 153–8; K. Cunningham, 'Renaissance Execution and Marlovian Elocution: The Drama of Death', *PMLA* 105.2 (1990), 209–22; K. Cunningham, *Imaginary Betrayals: Subjectivity and the Discourses of Treason in Early Modern England* (Philadelphia, 2002), esp. pp. 78 ff. For the network of Protestant spies keeping watch on Mary, see J. Bossy, *Under the Molehill: An Elizabethan Spy Story* (New Haven, 2001).

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been organized by John Ballard, a priest, and thus any doubtful activity under the direction of priests around the same time would have both called for monitoring by the Protestant authorities and offered a convenient excuse to those who might be caught by the authorities in the political intrigue of the time. As Richard Mainy did, they could blame their arrest on the manipulations of priests. The sins emerge here, in any case, as signs of demonic possession, of course, or at least they are qualified by Mainy as a response to clerical machinations when he needs scapegoats to deflect from himself suspicion about his possible involvement in a plot of regicide. But at the same time one can see that for the Protestant authorities casting out the sins takes its place as one more element of what was understood to be extravagant and suspect Catholic behavior in a narrative of political insurrection fueled by the conflict between Catholicism and Protestantism.

As religious controversy grew in duration and fragmentation in England, the sins remained available to Protestants to demonstrate the moral failings of Catholicism and its adherents among the clergy and fraternal orders. During the reign of Charles I, for example, the slim volume entitled *Romes wickednes* devoted its seven chapters to the analysis of the sins of the 'Romish Church'. This anonymous collection of derogatory anecdotes and verse was printed at least twice in the first half of the seventeenth century.[45] The author claims that he was compelled to publish the work, for:

> The intolerable Abuses of Pole-shorne Popelings, have [been] in all Ages heretofore, and are still so great, that many have been animated (I had almost said inforced) therby to shew themselves in Print, who otherwise never meant it, if they had not been instigated thereto by their abhominable Lying, Whoring, Swearing, Blaspheming, Pride, Drunkennesse, Covetousnesse, and the like.[46]

In the spirit of defaming one's opponents by demonstrating their failures in precisely those areas in which they claim to be pure, the treatise dedicates a chapter to the 'Gurmandizing and Gluttony' of monks, giving an entirely new meaning to Saint Anthony as the 'Saint for Swine'; and another to avarice, evidenced in 'Indulgences, Pardons, Maggot-eaten Reliques, Paxes, Crucifixes, Trentals, Dirges, Pictures of Saints, Bulls, hallowed Beades, Holy Water', and so on.[47] Yet it is also clear that the list of chief vices exposed by the treatise is not in all points identical with the sin-heptad familiar from medieval catechetical literature, in that it includes lying and blasphemy – sins of the tongue – without chapters for envy, sloth or wrath. In fact, the treatise demonstrates a

45 *Romes wickednes or, wicked Rome with her seuen deadly sinnes of lying, pride, whoring, drunkennes, swearing, couetousnes, blaspheming, now raging and raigning amongst them, layd open to the view of the world* (London, 1624). I also quote from the edition of London, 1637.

46 *Romes wickednes* (1637), sig. A3r.

47 *Romes wickednes* (1624), p. 18.

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rhetorical development in the history of the chief vices in the early modern period according to which the very phrase 'seven deadly sins' itself becomes shorthand for an encapsulated evil, an evocation of the ability of the heptad to classify, number and thereby control iniquity.[48]

But in the area of religious controversy not all appearances of the heptad of vices, even in its complete form, were reserved for Catholic–Protestant polemics. The acerbic William Prynne, representing Puritan sentiments (though not a typical Puritan by any means) attacked the Laudian tendencies, as he saw them, of the use of the sin-heptad in John Cosin's popular and thoroughly Protestant *Collection of Private Devotions* because the recitation of the seven deadly sins must have been taken from 'Popish Pamphlets, Chatechismes, and Deuotions: not out of any Protestant Authors: so it necessarily implies: that these seuen Sinnes, are the greatest Sinnes of all others: and that there are some Sinnes, which are not Deadly in their owne nature: for so doe the Popish Writers inferre from thence . . .'.[49] And a treatise by the chameleon-like Richard Carpenter, composed during the period of the Protectorate (1653–9), demonstrates the flexibility of the seven deadly sins in religious dichotomy of a wider variety. Raised as a Protestant, Carpenter early in life declared himself to be a Catholic, then left England to eventually join, first, the Jesuits and, then, the Benedictines briefly, and later to be ordained a priest. When he returned to England, however, in due course he reversed his position and gave a sermon at St Paul's in London disavowing his adherence to Catholicism. Yet, he also later complained to the opponents of Archbishop Laud that Laud's chaplain had pressured him to praise the ceremonies of the Church of England. The suspicion of harboring a secret pro-Catholic bias stuck with him, and in 1648 he was ordered by the authorities in London to stop preaching, since the eighth classis of the city had issued a certificate accusing him, among other things, of Catholic sympathies.[50] Having thus alienated a spectrum of both Catholics and Anglicans, he

48 The development is already well underway in Thomas Dekker, *The Seuen deadly Sinnes of London, Drawne in seuen seuerall Coaches, Through the seuen seuerall Gates of the Citie Bringing the Plague with them: Opus septem Dierum* (London, 1606). See the edition by H. F. B. Brett-Smith, The Percy Reprints 4 (Oxford, 1922). The tract, which includes only Sloth as a major category from the heptad, is an attack on contemporary modes of behavior in London under the seven headings of Politike Bankeruptisme (scheming to declare bankruptcy), Lying, Candle-light (sins committed under cover of darkness by those who appear respectable by day), Sloth (harmful indolence), Apishnesse (foppishness), Shauing (defrauding) and Crueltie.

49 William Prynne, *A Briefe Svrvay and Censvre of Mr Cozens His Couzening Deuotions: Prouing both the forme and matter of Mr Cozens his Booke of Priuate Deuotions, or the Houres of Prayer, lately published, to be meerely Popish: to differ from the priuate Prayers Authorized by Queene Elizabeth 1560, to be transcribed out of Popish Authors, with which they are here paralelled: and to be scandalous and preiudiciall to our Church, and aduantagious onely to the Church of Rome* (London, 1628), p. 23. See Rogers, *The Seven Deadly Sins*, pp. 98–106.

50 For Carpenter's life, see W. E. Burns, 'Carpenter, Richard (1604/5–1670?)', in *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004), http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4739 (accessed 17 May 2012).

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left London, re-fashioning himself as an independent preacher and continuing both his capaciousness for self-justification and his malleability in the face of those who had power over him: 'Roaming from the Jesuits to the Benedictines to the secular priesthood, then converting and capitulating in turn to the demands of Laudians and anti-Laudians, Carpenter alternates between defiant assertions of his capacity to judge for himself and a respect for his new superiors which is obsequious even by the standards of the seventeenth century.'[51] In 1656, then, he published at his own cost *The Last and Highest Appeal*, in which he accused members of the Church of England, who he said were persecuting him, of being sinners. In chapter nine, this polemic draws on the seven deadly sins to characterize the immorality of those opposed to him:

> I object, That the *seven* great *Heads of Sin* recounted by the *Ancients*, are wondrously apparent in the *preaching Leaders* of these *Factions*, which have risen since the first beginning of our unhappy Differences. We see, but let God judge.
>
> The *seven* great *Heads*, are *Pride*, *Anger*, *Envy*, *Lust* or *Luxury*, *Covetousness*, *Gluttony*, and *Sloth, when the dangerous and painfull Works of sound Religion are to be strongly and valiantly performed*.[52]

Though he was clearly formed by a Catholic education, Carpenter strenuously repudiates all connection with Catholicism, and specifically the charge that he carried with himself a box of crucifixes.[53] But it is a simple maneuver for him to use the sin-heptad as a sign that the 'ditch-and-dunghil Saints'[54] among his Anglican enemies are heretical. Thus, from intra-Catholic to Catholic-Protestant to intra-Protestant rivalries, the seven deadly sins remained resiliently available in early modern England to support the work of partisan confrontation.

The sins on stage

In dramatic representations of the vices in morality plays, as is well known, one can identify another element of continuity in the post-sacramental history of the sins, and in fact in a genre that flourished in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, just as the system of the vices was losing its position of

51 A. Shell, 'Multiple Conversion and the Menippean Self: The Case of Richard Carpenter', in *Catholicism and Anti-Catholicism in Early Modern English Texts*, ed. A. F. Marotti (Basingstoke, 1999), pp. 154–97 (p. 161).

52 Richard Carpenter, *The Last, and Highest Appeal: Or, An appeal to God, Against the New-Religion-Makers, Dresters, Menders, or Venders amongst us: Wherein is evidenced, amongst other things, That they have not true Faith, true Repentance, or true Charity: Likewise, that The seven Heads of Sin, commonly called, The seven deadly Sins, are manifestly apparent in the Lifes of their Preachers* (London, 16[5]6), 27.

53 Ibid., ch. 10, p. 31.

54 Ibid., ch. 12, p. 43.

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hegemony in the moral tradition. Though a homiletic intent lies close to the heart of many morality plays, and their Bakhtinian carnevalesque is always contained by an appropriately sober purpose,[55] the spectacle of the grotesque and fantastic propels these dramas at times beyond what can be completely contained by institutionally sanctioned imagery. Here again, disconnecting the vices from a purely sacramental significance is one of the keys to their longevity beyond the Middle Ages. The influence of penitential theology on the conception of the heptad of vices in the morality plays may be clearest in *The Castle of Perseverance*, from the first quarter of the fifteenth century. After Accidia brags of its special power to make all people negligent in matters of penance, for example, the Good Angel complains that Humanum Genus 'is set in seuene synnys sete / And wyl certys tyl he be kylt'.[56] Immediately, however, Confessio announces the heavenly rewards for confessing all one's sins, and Penitencia orders the personification of humankind to 'go schryue þe 3erne',[57] an action which begins the final rise of the protagonist's fortunes with which the play ends. Yet other aspects of this play, allegorically apt and vividly dramatic, already go beyond the limits of what can be subsumed under a formula of contrition, confession and satisfaction. The memorable and detailed battle of the vices and the contrary virtues,[58] for example, is clearly an allegorical projection of the warring ethical impulses in the heart of

55 W. S. Moore, III, 'The Seven Deadly Sins in Medieval and Selected Early Modern English Moralities' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Ball State University, 2002), pp. 161–70.

56 *The Castle of Perseverance* xi.1315–16, in *The Macro Plays*, ed. M. Eccles, EETS OS 262 (London, 1969), p. 42.

57 Ibid., xi.1402, p. 44.

58 For the use of the contrary virtues (formerly known as the remedial virtues) in preaching in England, see Newhauser, 'Preaching the "Contrary Virtues"'. The opposition between the contrary virtues and the seven deadly sins was schematic enough to be fit for a number of broadsides printed in the first half of the seventeenth century in England, where they were arranged in double columns. See *The seuen soueraigne medicines and salues, to be diligently applied to the seuen deadly wounds and sores* (London, 1603): Pride, and Humility; Enuy, and Loue; Wrath, and Charity; Slouth, Watching and Prayer; Gluttony, and Temperance; Couetousnesse, and Liberality; Lechery, and Chastity; *Come ye blessed, &c., come ye cursed, &c., or, A Diall of directions to doomes day denoting by the seauen deadly sins, seauen dangerous steps descendant to destruction, and by their contrary opposite vertues, the seauenfold ladder ascending to euerlasting felicitie* (London, [*c.* 1635]): Pride – Humilitie, Enuie – Loue, Wrath – Patience, Sloath – Labour, Couetousnesse – Liberalitie, Drunkennesse – Temperance, Lecherie – Chastitie; *The Nine Mortal Weapons, Or so many deadly Sins Charged against poor Mankind by Satan, Our Grand Enemy for our Everlasting destruction* (London, 1650 [?]), which divides gluttony into gluttony proper and drunkenness and adds Unbelief to the sins: Pride – slay it by humbleness, Covetousness – slay it with a generous mind, Lechery – slay it with Lust for grace, Envy – slay it by harmonious Love, Wrath – slay it by Meakness, Sloath – slay it by labouring Night and day, Gluttonie – slay it with sweet temperature, Drunkenness – slay it with a moderate use, Unbelief – slay it by faith in Christ.

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Humanum Genus. Yet, it is also an action in which the positive moral forces surprisingly save humanity at one point by throwing flowers at their vicious counterparts. The battle becomes a dramatic sequence that nearly stands by itself. Indeed, by the second half of the fourteenth century the *psychomachia* of the vices and virtues had become so widespread as an image that it could be performed literally outside of any religious context: John of Reading records in his chronicle for 1362 that tournaments were planned in Cheapside in London under Edward III in which one group of knights was to joust using the disguise of the seven deadly sins.[59]

Likewise, the late fifteenth-century morality play, or interlude, *Nature*, by Henry Medwall, which focuses more on the need for good government than on penitential theology,[60] demonstrates another way in which religious drama was not limited to sacramental references. As John Alford has demonstrated, Medwall's play is the first drama in which the disguise of vice as a conventional virtue is fully acted out on stage, not simply described.[61] All seven of the sins appear in the guise of some virtuous quality here: Pride as Worship, Avarice as Worldly Policy, Wrath as Manhood, and so on. In this way, the protagonist Man is not only affected by the vices, but he is also forced to work though his misunderstanding of the virtuous façade of each member of the sin-heptad in a process of discovering and defining his self.[62] As Fiona Dunlop has written recently, 'the action of the play describes the internal conflict within the young man, as different parts of his nature attempt to determine his actions'.[63] After Medwall, the dramatic convention of a sin using an alias became one of the expected dramatic methods employed in nearly every early modern English

59 John of Reading records that harmful winds prevented the tournaments that had been announced in 1362 in Cheapside in London; see *Chronica Johannis de Reading et Anonymi Cantuariensis, 1346–1367*, ed. with introduction and notes by J. Tait, Publications of the University of Manchester, Historical Series 20; University of Manchester Publications 88 (Manchester, 1914), p. 151: 'Per totum annum forte nequam spiritus praevenerunt praeconizata hastiludia in Chepe, Londoniis, videlicet, septem mortalia in omnes occurrentes peccata.' ('Throughout the whole year, very harmful gusts of wind prevented the announced tournaments in Cheapside in London, namely [those tournaments in which knights were] presenting themselves against all comers as the seven deadly sins.') Cf. J. Vale, *Edward III and Chivalry: Chivalric Society and its Context, 1270–1350* (Woodbridge, 1982), p. 67. On the way the Pater Noster plays helped dramatize the battle of vices and virtues, see D. Wyatt, 'The English Pater Noster Play: Evidence and Extrapolations', *Comparative Drama* 30 (1996–7), 452–70.

60 R. A. Potter, *The English Morality Play: Origins, History, and Influence of a Dramatic Tradition* (London, 1975), pp. 58–77.

61 J. A. Alford, '"My Name is Worship": Masquerading Vice in Medwall's *Nature*', in *From Page to Performance: Essays in Early English Drama*, ed. J. A. Alford (East Lansing, 1995), pp. 151–77.

62 See C. Spivack, 'Self as Subject in the Morality Drama', *Cahiers élisabéthains* 59 (2001), 1–8.

63 F. S. Dunlop, *The Late Medieval Interlude: The Drama of Youth and Aristocratic Masculinity* (York, 2007), p. 77.

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morality play.[64] As I have suggested elsewhere, the acceptance of the dramatic possibilities of unmasking a disguised vice indicates a democratization of a kind of knowledge formerly open only to the type of spiritual elite for which Medwall had written, for now each member of the audience could test his or her moral sensitivity in trying to discern a hidden vice by its openly enacted gestures, speech patterns, clothing, etc.[65]

On the Elizabethan stage, the heptad of vices remained a familiar part of the *dramatis personae*. Richard Tarlton (d. 1588), the most famous actor and clown in the England of his day, wrote a play referred to as *The seauen Deadly sinnes* by Gabriel Harvey who watched a production of the play in Oxford.[66] As Andrew Gurr has noted, this must have been in 1585 when Tarlton's company, The Queen's Men, played in that city.[67] The text of the play has been lost, but Harvey implies, by way of insinuating that Thomas Nashe's *Pierce Penilesse* was based on Tarlton's work, that the play was 'not Dunsically botched-vp, but right-formally conueied'. This may be taken to mean that in however farcical a manner Tarlton's play dealt with the sin-heptad, the presentation was not bungled, but carried out in a fitting style.[68] The remains of the play have often been equated with an extant document known as 'The platt of The Secound parte of the Seuen Deadlie Sinns', an outline of the actors and their movements in front of the audience that was meant to be hung up backstage for use by a stage manager (Plate 7.1).

Equating this document with Tarlton's drama is problematic, however, because the plot outline mentions by name the actors who played roles in the production of the play and none of them are known to have been members of The Queen's Men.[69] It does not seem unlikely, then, that Tarlton's play and the play for which an outline of the second part has been preserved are two separate dramas, independent of each other. In fact, the latest work on the plot of *2 Seven Deadly Sins* argues strongly that the company to which the actors of

64 B. Spivack, *Shakespeare and the Allegory of Evil* (New York, 1958), p. 159.

65 R. Newhauser, 'On Ambiguity in Moral Theology: When the Vices Masquerade as Virtues', trans. A. Németh-Newhauser, in Newhauser, *Sin*, essay I, pp. 25–6.

66 In a letter printed in 1592, Harvey said that he had been 'verie gently inuited thereunto at Oxford, by *Tarleton* himselfe': Gabriel Harvey, *Foure letters, and certaine sonnets especially touching Robert Greene, and other parties, by him abused: but incidently of diuers excellent persons, and some matters of note: To all courteous mindes, that will voutchsafe the reading* (London, 1592), p. 29. For Tarlton's life, see P. Thomson, 'Tarlton, Richard (d. 1588)', in *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004), http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26971 (accessed 17 May 2012). For a more recent note on one part of Tarlton's career, see D. Kathman, 'Richard Tarlton and the Haberdashers', *Notes and Queries* 53.4 [251] (2006), 440–2.

67 A. Gurr, *The Shakespearian Playing Companies* (Oxford, 1996), p. 210.

68 See also R. Weimann, *Shakespeare and the Popular Tradition in the Theater: Studies in the Social Dimension of Dramatic Form and Function*, ed. R. Schwartz (Baltimore, 1978), p. 207.

69 S. McMillin and S.-B. MacLean, *The Queen's Men and their Plays* (Cambridge, 1998), p. 93.

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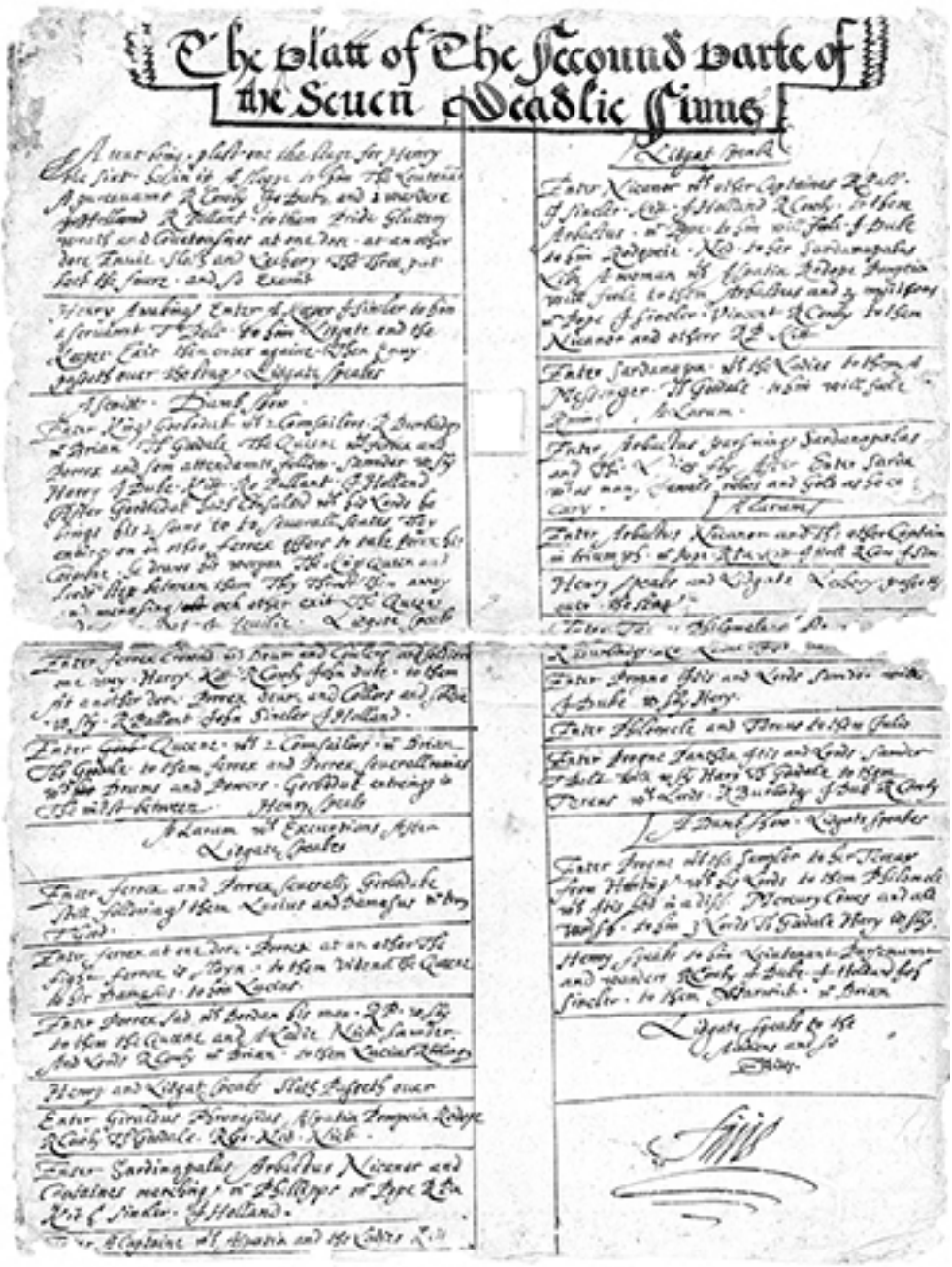

Plate 7.1. 'The platt of The Secound parte of the Seuen Deadlie Sinns': London, Dulwich College MS XIX.
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the play belonged was The Chamberlain's Men, that is to say, William Shakespeare's acting troupe, and that it must have been presented in London in the period 1597–8.[70] Only the briefest sketch of the play emerges from the plot outline, but it is clear that in three separate actions a character representing John Lydgate is depicted as instructing King Henry VI about the effects of envy, sloth and lechery. *1 Seven Deadly Sins* had presumably presented pride, avarice, gluttony and wrath; in all events, these four vices are chased from the stage by the other three as the second part of the play opens. The actors playing the roles of the sins are directed to pass over the stage in each of the actions in which they are thematically important in what might have been a type of dumb-show, and perhaps comically so. In the broad narrative actions outlined in the 'platt', envy is illustrated by the story of Gorboduc, who divided his kingdom among his sons, a deed that resulted in their murderous envy against each other; sloth is portrayed in the overthrow of the negligent Sardanapalus by the governor of the Medes, Arbactus; and lechery is represented in the Ovidian story of Tereus's rape of Philomela. Since all three of the protagonists in these narrative actions are kings, the moral admonitions about the fall of princes delivered to Henry VI by the figure of Lydgate would have become clear to all in the audience, as would the use of the sins in cautioning royalty about the principles of governance in which right rule and ethical behavior go hand in hand. If the attribution of the actors of *2 Seven Deadly Sins* to The Chamberlain's Men can be accepted, then we can say that at the time this company was putting on such plays as *The Merchant of Venice* and *1 and 2 Henry IV*, there was still an appetite among Elizabethan audiences for an older drama influenced by morality plays and their *dramatis personae* of the chief vices that this acting troupe was more than willing to meet.[71]

Shakespeare himself, however, made very little use of the vices in his own plays, referring to them explicitly only once, fittingly enough in a play that focuses on the problem of reforming sin, namely *Measure for Measure*.[72] Though the sins are spoken of in a context in which the heptad's ability to function as shorthand for all of evil is invoked, it is merely a passing mention and made contingent by the psychology of the character who refers to the vices. This is Claudio who is facing a death sentence that Angelo, the temporary ruler of Vienna, will commute only if Claudio's sister Isabella has sex with him. It is

70 D. Kathman, 'Reconsidering *The Seven Deadly Sins*', *Early Theatre* 7.1 (2004), 13–44.

71 See ibid., p. 34.

72 See the interesting analysis of the play in S. Beckwith, 'Medieval Penance, Reformation Repentance and *Measure for Measure*', in *Reading the Medieval in Early Modern England*, ed. G. McMullan and D. Matthews (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 193–204. For an analysis of how Shakespeare appreciated, and appropriated, the medieval drama of morality in another play, see M. O'Connell, '*King Lear* and the Summons of Death', in *Shakespeare and the Middle Ages*, ed. C. Perry and J. Watkins (Oxford, 2009), pp. 199–216, especially 206, who argues that *King Lear* is a play fully conscious of the morality tradition, in this case of the moment when Death summons the Everyman figure and he must repent having committed the deadly sins.

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a familiar impasse: death or dishonor, and it is heightened because Isabella is about to take vows as a nun and Claudio has only one day to live. In his desperation, Claudio tries to convince Isabella, first, that to commit the sin of lust with Angelo is a minor matter: 'Sure it is no sin, / Or of the deadly seven, it is the least.'[73] And, second, he argues that a sin that saves a brother's life will become a virtue (III.i.134–6). The enormity of what he is asking of his sister must be downplayed, on the one hand, and, on the other, morally inverted. The heptad provides a rhetorical context in the first part of the argument in which lust can be seen as all the more harmless: it is, Claudio urges in effect, only one of the capital vices. The earlier understanding of the sin heptad in sacramental theology as the source of all evil has fully dissolved here.

The way in which the seven deadly sins became loosened from a sacramental and penitential environment is seen in starkest relief in Christopher Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*. Early in the second act, Faustus tests the limits of what he can get Mephistopheles to do for him by asking for a wife, something which the devil rejects because marriage has a sacramental nature. As Mephistopheles says in denigrating marriage, it 'is but a ceremonial toy'.[74] This begins a series of attempts by Mephistopheles to distract Faustus from thinking in any terms that reflect ecclesiastical or divine concepts. Once Faustus is nevertheless at the point of calling on God's grace, Lucifer intervenes with the ultimate distraction: a comedic 'show' of the seven deadly sins,[75] and in particular, one which does not portray their defeat by virtue.[76] Instead, the vices describe themselves to Faustus as satirical character types – Pride is a vain and fashionable woman; Covetousness, a gold-obsessed miser; and so on – and though Faustus's inner state is characterized by the fact that he is unable to recognize any of the personifications by himself, he tells Lucifer afterwards that the procession of sins has fed his soul. For the time being, the devil has succeeded in banishing thoughts of marriage or repentance from Faustus's mind. The sins, in other words, are not only broadly satirical in their self-construction and one more device of anti-Catholic polemic in a play in which the protagonist boxes the pope's ears; as distracting and entertaining comedy in an almost secular idiom they also foreclose sacramental and penitential thinking altogether.

73 William Shakespeare, *Measure for Measure* III.i.110–11, ed. R. C. Bald, in William Shakespeare, *The Complete Works*, rev. ed., ed. A. Harbage (Baltimore, 1969), pp. 400–31 (p. 416).

74 *Doctor Faustus*, A-Text (1604), II.i.154–5, in Christopher Marlowe, *Doctor Faustus, A- and B-texts (1604, 1616)*, ed. D. Bevington and E. Rasmussen (Manchester, 1993), p. 145.

75 Ibid., II.iii.110–64, pp. 156–8.

76 For a suggestion of the source of the sins in the play, see L. Hopkins, 'A Possible Source for Marlowe's Pageant of the Seven Deadly Sins', *Notes and Queries* 41,4 [239] (1994), 451–2.

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The sins and political power

Marlowe's work points in this way to another rich vein of continuity in the history of the sin-heptad: its use in personified form in a critique of present conditions – all that violated the harmony of 'community ethics'[77] – in social, political and broadly moral terms. Langland's *Piers Plowman* stands out here as a key text, not only because of the author's deep-seated skepticism about, and critique of, the viability of transforming social and ecclesiastical institutions, but also because his text was appropriated by early Protestants as evidence of late medieval English predecessors to their own Reformation. Robert Crowley, publisher and writer of attacks on Catholicism and the printer of the first complete version of Langland's work in 1550,[78] noted in the preface to his edition that Langland

> in reportynge certaine visions and dreames, that he fayned him selfe to have dreamed: doeth moste christianlye enstruct the weake, and sharply rebuke the obstinate blynde. There is no maner of vice, that reigneth in anye estate of men, whiche this wryter hath not godly, learnedlye, and wittilye rebuked.[79]

Like Larry Scanlon, I read Crowley's attention to Langland's allegory as a sign of his interest in continuity with a like-minded author from the Middle Ages.[80] And here again, in *Piers Plowman* the vices' detachment from a sacramental environment is well underway. Though Langland stages the presentation of the personified sin-heptad in confession scenes, the drama, ironic misunderstandings, even humor of these vignettes move beyond the bounds of penitential literature properly so called. As usual with Langland, the early stages of a new movement of his narrative (and the early stages of his revision of the poem from the A- to the C-text) begin smoothly enough: in the A and B versions, Pride and Lust literally make short shrift, Pernele Proud-herte in nine verses in the B-text, Lechour in a brief four. The next vice, however, is a more complex matter; Envy typifies more the inability to confess than he serves as a model for contrition. At one point, he thoroughly misconstrues what emotion he is called on to demonstrate in confession: Repentaunce tells him that 'Sorwe

77 For the emphasis on the social functions of the sins, see Bossy, *Christianity in the West*, pp. 35–42; and his very thorough and influential 'The Social History of Confession in the Age of the Reformation', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th ser. 25 (1975), 21–38 (esp. 21–31).

78 B. Morgan, 'Crowley, Robert (1517x19–1588)', in *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004), http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/6831 (accessed 17 May 2012).

79 *The vision of Pierce Plowman now fyrste imprynted by Roberte Crowley, dwellyng in Ely rentes in Holburne: Anno Domini, 1550, Cum priuilegio ad imprimendu[m] solum* (London, [1550]), sig. *ii.

80 L. Scanlon, 'Langland, Apocalypse and the Early Modern Editor', in *Reading the Medieval in Early Modern England*, ed. McMullan and Matthews, pp. 51–73.

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of synnes is savacion of soules',[81] to which he responds that he is always sorry – not to be able to fulfill his desire. In the end, he casts doubt on his very capacity to be penitent at all, saying, 'I wole amende this if I may . . .'[82] Everywhere the vices demonstrate that Langland has drawn them to the contours of social practices that also serve as the source of estates satire in homiletic literature: Envy has inspired backbiting among the wealthy citizens of London, Wrath instigates quarrels among female religious, Avarice engages in sharp practices in commerce, Gluttony takes a detour to the tavern instead of going to confession. The firm connection between the personified vices and the social strata they characterize extends, from this point, in what was earlier called a *Piers Plowman* tradition into the sixteenth century.[83]

The way in which sermon material of social criticism using the seven deadly sins and aimed at effecting a moral regeneration of England could be redirected for incendiary and revolutionary purposes is apparent in one of John Ball's letters, preserved in the context of addresses to, and letters of encouragement for, the peasants engaged in the Rising of 1381. Here, the vices become a vital part of the proof text that the season is ripe for taking action against the moral degeneration of the English:

> Prima epistola johannis Balle. [John Ball's First Letter]
>
> John balle seynte marye prist grete3 wele alle maner men & byddes hem in þe name of the trinite. fadur and sone and holy gost. stonde manlyche togedyr in trewþe. and helpe3 trewþe. and trewþe schal helpe 3owe. Nowe regneþ pride in pris. and couetys is hold wys. and lecherye wiþ<outen shame> and glotonye withouten blame. Enuye regniþ wiþ tresone. and slouthe is take in grete sesone. god do bote. for nowe is tyme amen.[84]

Richard Firth Green has pointed out that the same verse quoted by Ball beginning 'Nowe regneþ pride . . .' occurs elsewhere in a number of homiletic contexts, without the urgency of action issuing from Ball's letter to the peasants.[85] In his discussion of Ball's epistle, Steven Justice has also drawn a useful distinction

81 William Langland, *Piers Plowman* B 5.125, in *The Vision of Piers Plowman: A Critical Edition of the B-Text based on Trinity College Cambridge MS B.15.17*, ed. A. V. C. Schmidt, 2nd edn (London, 1995; reprint 1997), p. 68.

82 Ibid., B 5.132, p. 68. For a view of the changes in the text of the confession scenes from A- to C-text, see G. H. Russell, 'Poet as Reviser: The Metamorphosis of the Confession of the Seven Deadly Sins in *Piers Plowman*', in *Acts of Interpretation: The Text in its Contexts, 700–1600: Essays on Medieval and Renaissance Literature in Honor of E. Talbot Donaldson*, ed. M. J. Carruthers and E. D. Kirk (Norman, 1982), pp. 53–65.

83 The leading figure in designating the '*Piers Plowman* tradition' was H. C. White; see her *Social Criticism in Popular Religious Literature of the Sixteenth Century* (New York, 1944; reprint New York, 1965), pp. 1–40.

84 Edited in S. Justice, *Writing and Rebellion: England in 1381*, The New Historicism: Studies in Cultural Poetics 27 (Berkeley, 1994), p. 14.

85 R. F. Green, 'John Ball's Letters. Literary History and Historical Literature', in *Chaucer's England: Literature in Historical Context*, ed. B. A. Hanawalt, Medieval Studies at Minnesota 4 (Minneapolis, 1992), pp. 176–200 (pp. 182–3).

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between the countryside inhabited by the rebels aligned with 'trewþe' and the seigniorial halls and royal court where the reigning takes place that introduces the list of the vices.[86] At the same time, it should be emphasized how carefully Ball uses the sin-heptad as part of the common topos of the 'world turned upside-down' theme in which the rule of vice and the subjugation of virtue characterize the moral disorder of the nation. It is obvious that he names only six vices as evidence of the reign of immorality. Encouraging the 'manly' cohesiveness of the rebels in the violence of their demands, Ball has every reason to suppress wrath as one of the signs of the immorality of the current regime. Given the ambiguity of moral categories, his letter also implies that a righteous indignation – long established as part of the definition of manliness and opposed to the frenzy of an uncontrolled and sinful rage – should be understood as one of the characteristics of the rebels' cause.[87]

In a later development, the setting for a social criticism using the activities of personified vices is envisioned as that of the demonized court, and in such a way that the attractions and anxieties of courtiership are embedded in the treatment of the sins. Thus, the first scene of *The Assembly of Gods*, composed in the last quarter of the fifteenth century and long attributed to John Lydgate, takes place in the court of Minos in hell, and the vices are treated as captains who lead the knights dubbed by the princely figure of Vice into battle against the virtues.[88] Pride rides in on a lion, Envy on a wolf, Wrath on a wild boar, and so on.[89] *The Dance of the Seven Deadly Sins* by William Dunbar, closely associated with the court of James IV of Scotland, also has a demonic setting in which Mahoun (i.e., Satan) proclaims the beginning of festivities, and the vices perform a grotesque dance as entertainment.[90] Not even the proud rogues in their haughty fashions can make Mahoun smile, but he takes immense pleasure in the priests who are among the followers of Pride. Here, too, animal imagery accompanies a few of the vices: Sloth is likened to a pig, for example, Wrath is likened to a bear and Lust is said to move like a pregnant horse.[91] Dunbar uses the vices as much to criticize the excesses of the priesthood as he does to find fault with the pretensions of the court. Drawing on the history of placing the sins in a court surrounding, one of the most popular of Elizabethan pamphlets,

86 Justice, *Writing and Rebellion*, p. 186.

87 On the characteristics of wrath, see R. E. Barton, 'Gendering Anger: *Ira*, *Furor*, and Discourses of Power and Masculinity in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries', in *Garden of Evil*, pp. 371–92.

88 On the date, see J. Chance, 'Introduction', in *The Assembly of Gods*, ed. J. Chance (Kalamazoo, 1999), http://www.lib.rochester.edu/camelot/teams/asint.htm (accessed 17 May 2012).

89 *The Assembly of Gods*, par. 88–91, ed. O. L. Triggs, EETS ES 69 (London, 1896; reprint 1957), p. 19.

90 For sources of the poem in visual art, see J. S. Norman, 'Sources for the Grotesque in William Dunbar's "Dance of the Sevin Deidly Synnis"', *Scottish Studies* 29 (1989), 55–75.

91 William Dunbar, *The Dance of the Seven Deadly Sins*, ed. J. Conlee, in *William Dunbar: The Complete Works* (Kalamazoo, 2004), pp. 162–8.

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Thomas Nash's *Pierce Penilesse*, printed first in 1592, is cast in the form of a satiric supplication to 'your gracelesse Maiestie', the devil, for preferment, and the vices are considered the evils reigning in the heart of the court.[92] And John Lane's social critique of England in *Tom Tel-Troths message* (1600), including the failings of its two universities, catalogues the nation's evils according to the 'seauen sinnes' that deceive all human beings. Lane does not limit the effect of the vices on earth to the environment of a court that mirrors the Satanic court, but develops the moral assessment of English society largely along lines of class: Pride is typified by the excesses of aristocratic fashions, Wrath (among other features) by street fights; Avarice by merchants in Cheapside. Nevertheless, the goal of the personified vices is ultimately the court in hell:

> These mincing maides and fine-trict truls, ride post
> To *Plutoes* pallace, like purueyers proude;
> Thither they leade many a damned ghost,
> With howling consorts carroling aloude . . .[93]

As can be seen from some of the works just referred to, a highly iconographic treatment of the sins produces a type of proto-emblem in which each vice rides on, or is equated to, a distinctive animal and may be surrounded by characteristic objects that define and make memorable the nature of its evil. This method of visualizing the sin-heptad had become an expected feature of moral culture by the fourteenth century,[94] and its continued longevity may be

92 Thomas Nashe, *Pierce Penilesse: His Supplication to the Divell* (London, 1592), http://scholarsbank.uoregon.edu/jspui/bitstream/1794/852/1/nashe.pdf (accessed 17 May 2012).

93 John Lane, *Tom Tel-Troths message, and his pens complaint: A worke not vnpleasant to be read, nor vnprofitable to be followed* (London, 1600), vv. 235–8, ed. F. J. Furnivall, in *Tell-Trothes New-Yeares Gift . . . and The Passionate Morrice, 1593; John Lane's Tom Tell-Troths Message, and his Pens Complaint, 1600; Thomas Powell's Tom of All Trades, or The Plaine Path-way to Preferment . . . 1631; The Glass of Godly Loue (by John Rogers?), 1569*, New Shakspere Society [Publications], 6th s.: Shakspere's England, no. 2 (London, 1876), pp. 107–35 (p. 119). On Lane, see V. M. Underwood, 'Lane, John (*fl.* 1600–1630)', in *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004), http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/15993 (accessed 17 May 2012); Rogers, *The Seven Deadly Sins*, pp. 86–7.

94 N. Harris and R. Newhauser, 'Visuality and Moral Culture in the Late Middle Ages: The Emblematic *Conflictus* and its Literary Representatives, the *Etymachia*, *Qui vicerit dabo*, and *In campo mundi*', in *Garden of Evil*, pp. 234–76. One might mention in this light, as a text that illustrates the proto-emblems of the vices and anticipates the very elaborate allegorical treatment of the sins by Spenser, *Le Pèlerinage de la vie humaine* by the Cistercian monk Guillaume de Digulleville (Deguileville) (composed in 1330 and revised in 1355). The text was translated into English prose anonymously and English verse by John Lydgate, in the fifteenth century, and part of it had been translated earlier by Chaucer. The capital vices appear here in books two and three accompanied by distinctively iconographic weapons and tools and riding (or being ridden), not on animals but on (or by) sub-sins of the vices themselves. For the anonymous English version of *c.* 1430, see *The Pilgrimage of the Lyfe of the Manhode*, ed. A. Henry, 2 vols., EETS OS 288 and 292 (London, 1985–8).

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illustrated by the series of engravings on the topic of the seven deadly sins that John Goddard completed for Thomas Jenner in the first half of the seventeenth century – perhaps, surprisingly enough, for a Puritan customer interested in a satiric view of the pretensions of the wealthy (Plate 7.2).

The Seaven deadly Sins.
Sould by The: Jenner
John Goddard fec.
PRIDE
The Taylors Sheeres I should have held in hand,
For how to shape my Clothes, I studying stand:
Why am I pictur'd first, and first in Letters?
The Proud man allwayes goes before his betters.

Plate 7.2. The Sin of Pride, from John Goddard. *The Seaven deadly Sins*. [London]: soulde by Thomas Jenner. [*c*. 1630?]: San Marino, California, The Huntington Library RB479697.
Reproduced by permission of The Huntington Library, San Marino, California

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Here, elaborately dressed dandies are depicted not riding on animals, but simply standing near them, as can be seen in the first illustration showing Pride which, as in Spenser, is symbolized by the peacock.[95] Though I have dealt here with the continuity of interest in the seven deadly sins exclusively as a matter of textual reception, visual depictions of the vices are obviously another avenue which the sin-heptad traveled on in its way from the Middle Ages to the early modern period, one I do not have space to explore more thoroughly here.[96]

The image of the peacock returns the discussion to where it began, with Spenser's *Faerie Queene*. In the episode at the House of Pride in Book I of this epic poem, Spenser draws on all three of the areas of continuity I have emphasized in the treatment of the vices. The entire tone of Book I is saturated, of course, with the residue of the religious polemics in which Spenser had a direct hand during his career in Ireland. The most malevolent character of the book, Archimago, the main adversary of the Redcross Knight, bears the likeness of a hermit, dressed in black, barefoot, a book hanging from his belt, engaged when the protagonist and Una meet him on the road in what is a show of pious contrition:

> And all the way he prayèd, as he went,
> And often knockt his brest, as one that did repent.[97]

The reader is prepared, then, to find that other allegorical evils the Redcross Knight must learn how to maneuver past, of which the pageant of the

95 J. Horden, 'Jenner, Thomas (d. 1673), Printseller and Writer', in *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004), http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/14751 (accessed 17 May 2012).

96 Besides the procession of vices, another medieval visualization of the heptad of sins that remained in use in early modern England was the tree of vices, paired generally with the tree of virtues. For the image of a very elaborate tree of vices, see the 1531 edition of a Syon Abbey book published first in 1526: William Bonde, *A deuoute treatyse in Englysshe, called the Pilgrymage of perfeccyon: very profytable for all chrysten people to rede: and in especyall, to all relygyous persones moche necessary* . . . (London, 1531), Book 3, Day 1, chapter 9, facing fol. lxxxxi(r), with a lengthy explanation of the tree on fols. lxxxxi(r)–lxxxxv(v). The use of the tree image here has been discussed recently by A. da Costa and A. M. Hutchinson, 'The Brethren of Syon Abbey and Pastoral Care', in *A Companion to Pastoral Care in the Late Middle Ages (1200–1500)*, ed. R. J. Stansbury, Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition 22 (Leiden, 2010), pp. 235–60 (pp. 251–2). *Her[e be]gy[n]neth the kalender of shepherdes* (London, 1506), fols. Dii(r)–Fi(v), has a description of the seven vices, with their many sub-sins, accompanied by images of cut off branches and twigs in the margins; *The boke named the royall* (London, [1507]), has unelaborated trees of sins on fol. Qii(v) illustrating the four roots of pride and a tree of virtues later in the book (as well as images of battles between vices and virtues). On the image of the tree of vices, see J. O'Reilly, *Studies in the Iconography of the Virtues and Vices in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1988), pp. 323–32, 375–88.

97 *The Faerie Queene* I.i.29, ed. F. M. Padelford, in *The Works of Edmund Spenser: A Variorum Edition*, 9 vols. (Baltimore, 1932-), I, 12.

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seven deadly sins stands out for its elaborate description, are also typified as Catholic. In fact, Idlenesse, the first of the sins described as drawing Lucifera's coach, demonstrates his heritage in intellectual history and continues the anti-Catholic polemic of the text by resembling Archimago in being comparable to a monk.[98] The procession of the vices, filing past the Redcross Knight like a dumb-show, presents an ostentatious display of the iconography of the vices, and Spenser adds to the dramatic potential of allegorized sins riding on animals by mediating it through its effect on the watchful eyes of the protagonist, as he also embellishes the pageant with some of the potential for social criticism seen in earlier treatments of the seven deadly sins.[99] In particular, the royal court is implicated in the highly decorated pageantry of the vices, and in one instance it is referenced explicitly when Gluttony is said to be unfit to belong to a royal council.[100] Elsewhere, Spenser notes the deleterious effect of Envy on authors, because

> . . . the verse of famous Poets witt
> He does backebite, and spightfull poison spues
> From leprous mouth on all, that euer writt . . .[101]

One might begin to suspect that some of this critique is reflective of Spenser's own attitudes towards the Elizabethan court, for as Judith Anderson has written, 'Even in the 1590 *Faerie Queene*, Spenser's reverence for Queen Elizabeth is accompanied by a cautionary awareness of the temptations and dangers of queenly power and by a complementary awareness of the cost – the denial or exclusion of human possibilities – an ennobling Idea exacts of its bearer.'[102] The suspicion that under the surface of praise for Gloriana something else is lying sublimated, not fully able to be expressed, is only hardened when one takes into account the response of the Redcross Knight to the procession of the vices. Though this is almost invariably overlooked in the discussion of the House of Pride, the Redcross Knight is not even affected as much as Faustus was by

98 Ibid., I.iv.18, p. 47.

99 Spenser's use of the imagery of a procession was succeeded by numerous other parades of the vices on horseback or with carriages in the decades following him, such as seen already in Thomas Dekker's work (above, n. 48). See also Samuel Rowlands, 'The seauen deadly Sins all Horst and riding to Hell', in Samuel Rowlands, *More Knaues yet? The Knaues of Spades and Diamonds* [1613?], in *The Complete Works of Samuel Rowlands, 1598–1628, Now First Collected*, 3 vols. ([Glasgow], 1880; reprint New York, 1966), II, 42–4 (each item separately paginated). Here, the devil leads the sins, Pride rides on a lion, Lust on a goat, Wrath on a boar, Covetousness on an elephant, Gluttony on a bear, Envy on a wolf and Sloth on an ass.

100 *The Faerie Queene*, I.iv.23, ed. Padelford, p. 48.

101 Ibid., I.iv.32, p. 51.

102 J. H. Anderson, '"In liuing colours and right hew": The Queen of Spenser's Central Books', in *Critical Essays on Edmund Spenser*, ed. M. Suzuki (New York, 1996), pp. 168–82 (p. 162). See also R. Rambuss, 'Spenser's Life and Career', in *The Cambridge Companion to Spenser*, ed. A. Hadfield (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 13–36 (p. 31).

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the pageantry he observed at the hands of Mephistopheles. Spenser's knight stands apart from the spectacle, as Spenser himself was frustrated in his desire to be preferred at Elizabeth's court; he finds the magnificence of the pageant tarnished and the central figure of the royal court imperfect in her aloofness:

> Yet the stout Faerie mongst the middest crowd,
> Thought all their glorie vaine in knightly vew,
> And that great Princesse too exceeding prowd,
> That to strange knight no better countenance allowd.[103]

Spenser is, of course, the poet of England's national aspirations at the end of the sixteenth century, but he is also a poet never preferred enough, in his own view, by Elizabeth, the monarch who was always valued, as much as Lucifera is decried, as 'a mayden Queene'.[104] In a way similar to Mary Villeponteaux's suggestion that Elizabeth is mirrored not only in the ruler Mercilla in Book 5 of *The Faerie Queene*, but also in the monstrous Amazon queen Radigund,[105] I suggest that the seven deadly sins served Spenser in a complex way. They are, of course, expressions of the evil to be avoided by the Redcross Knight (and of course for Spenser's theology they are wholly insufficient in themselves to fully capture the essence of that evil), but beneath their literal surface they also imply a critique of the royal court and, indeed, of the monarch herself. Spenser cannot explicitly articulate this attitude; his works are awash with praise for the queen who never allowed him the favorable countenance he sought. And if the Redcross Knight is not part of the pageantry of the sins, neither can he look away. Caught between desire and rejection, Spenser's attitude towards the sins is not at all one of simple ironic rejection, an interpretation that oversimplifies and misses the point entirely. Rather, his attitude is a kind of sublimation of his own fascination with, and moral repugnance at, the list of the vices (and the court culture they embody). And perhaps, one might add, it is something like the modern reader's attitude towards the sins, as well. In this light, I would suggest, Spenser adds something valuable to the treatment of the seven deadly

103 *The Faerie Queene* I.iv.15, ed. Padelford, p. 46.

104 Ibid., I.iv.8, p. 45. One can observe Spenser's influence on other allegories staging a conflict between vices and virtues conceived in terms of national and Protestant aspirations in a work published in 1633, Phineas Fletcher's *The Purple Island, or The Isle of Man*, ed. F. S. Boas, in Giles and Phineas Fletcher, *Poetical Works*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1909), II, 1–171, which ends with the defeat of vices and the marriage of Eclecta (the Church of England) to the island's Prince, James I (canto XII, stanzas 76–7, p. 168). Most of the capital vices, but now distributed among a wide series of other sins and virtues, are presented as residents in procession and battle within this anatomical allegory of the human body. See M. Bayer, 'The Distribution of Political Agency in Phineas Fletcher's Purple Island', *Criticism* 44.3 (2002), 249–70; T. Healy, 'Sound Physic: Phineas Fletcher's *The Purple Island* and the Poetry of Purgation', *Renaissance Studies* 5.3 (1991), 341–52.

105 M. Villeponteaux, '"Not as women wonted be": Spenser's Amazon Queen', in *Dissing Elizabeth: Negative Representations of Gloriana*, ed. J. M. Walker (Durham, 1998), pp. 209–25.

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sins, not simply by accessing the Middle Ages and making the vices part of modernity and of his evocation of Protestant spirituality, but by projecting them onto a perhaps not fully conscious definition of his self. Spenser's use of the sin-heptad, then, is rightfully seen as typical of the end of the seven deadly sins tradition in sacramental Catholic theology. But more important, it depicts one more step in the process of reception, adaptation and change of the vices, a reminder that cultural categories can be markers of both continuity and discontinuity in historical development.

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II

THE SINS IN THE MUSICAL, LITERARY AND VISUAL ARTS

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CHAPTER EIGHT

The Seven Deadly Sins in Medieval Music

Anne Walters Robertson, The University of Chicago

There is scant evidence of the seven deadly sins in medieval music, compared with the manifold treatment of this theme in theology and art. Early sacred texts set to melody were based almost exclusively on the Bible, sources of which predate the first Western teaching against the sins. Even when composers began to use their own texts, the sins only rarely commanded their attention. This article deals with the small but fascinating repertory of music on the seven deadly sins from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries: several conductus and motets from works of Philip the Chancellor, Guillaume de Machaut and the Roman de Fauvel. These unique pieces, straddling the divide between liturgical and pedagogical music, are shown to have unusually dramatic texts that often addressed the sins directly. In the fifteenth century, these works disappeared, replaced by music that expressed the idea of defeating the sins through the use of musical symbols rather than by singing their names aloud.

Musical representation of the seven deadly sins is surprisingly scarce in comparison with its counterparts in other aspects of Western medieval culture. Theologians from the earliest centuries of Christianity expound in countless genres on the hazards of the sins, and artists delight in depicting them as cautionary images in painting and sculpture. But the echo in music is muted at best, and reasons for this dearth are understandable. The first liturgical music of the Western tradition arose out of a desire to heighten verbal expression in worship. Until the late eighth century, texts set to melody were based almost exclusively on the Bible, the sources of which predate the advent of Western teaching against the deadly sins by the desert Fathers.[1] Even when composers began to use religious texts of their own

[1] Biblical passages that list various sins include Acts 15. 20; II Timothy 3. 2; and Matthew 15. 19; see Bloomfield, *Sins*, pp. 44–5, 339 n. 6. The seven deadly sins as a group were derived from the octad of evil thoughts that developed among eremitic monks in the fourth century; see C. Stewart, 'Evagrius Ponticus and the "Eight Generic Logismoi"', in *Garden of Evil*, pp. 3–34; Newhauser, *Treatise*, pp. 99 ff.

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creation, however, the seven deadly sins as a topic only rarely commanded their attention.[2]

To be sure, many musical texts discuss sin in general terms, drawing on the vast array of admonitory teachings contained in the Bible and elsewhere in theological writing. A chant might, for instance, deal with the 'evil beast [who] . . . devoured my son Joseph' (Genesis 37. 33) without naming its allegorical equivalent, the sin of envy, as seen in the responsory *Videns Jacob* given below:

> Videns Jacob vestimenta Joseph, scidit vestimenta sua cum fletu, et dixit: Fera pessima devoravit filium meum Joseph.[3]
>
> ('Jacob, seeing Joseph's clothes, tore his own clothes with weeping, and said: a most evil beast has devoured my son Joseph.')

In this chant, the story of Jacob mourning what he believes to be the death of Joseph forms part of a thematically unified, narrative office for the third Sunday of the penitential season of Lent,[4] rather than of a disquisition on one or all of the deadly sins. Likewise, Hildegard of Bingen's famous *Ordo virtutum* from the twelfth century is a musical play about the battle for the human soul (*Anima*), waged between the Virtues and the Devil. The *Ordo* never lists the deadly sins, although the defeat of evil is its central concern.[5] Since much of the corpus of medieval music deals with sin as an overarching concept in these and other ways, we have to search diligently to find pieces in which all seven of the deadly sins – or enough of them to be recognized as referring to this theme – do occur.

This article will deal with the small but fascinating repertory of musical compositions on the seven deadly sins, most of which date from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[6] The unique position of these pieces within the medieval corpus will become apparent, as will the unusual nature of their musical settings. The demise of this tradition at the end of the Middle Ages will also be discussed. We will see that this limited group of works leaves its imprint, not only on the music of the Middle Ages, but also on the manifold representations of the sins across the disciplines in the same period.

2 Tropes and sequences, the earliest non-biblical music-and-text compositions, dating from the ninth century onward, did not seem interested in portraying the sins. Newhauser discusses the issues surrounding definitions of genre in *Treatise*, pp. 55–96.

3 Text edited in *Corpus antiphonalium officii*, ed. R.-J. Hesbert, 6 vols., Rerum ecclesiasticarum documenta, Series major, Fontes 7–12 (Rome, 1963–79), IV, 7858.

4 The liturgical placement of this chant will be considered below.

5 The play is found in Hildegard von Bingen, *Ordo virtutum*, ed. A. Ekdahl Davidson (Kalamazoo, 1984).

6 To my knowledge, no previous study deals with the seven deadly sins *per se* in medieval music, although a recent article treats the philosophical concepts of music and sin more generally in the Middle Ages; see J. Díaz Ibáñez, 'Música y pecado en el imaginario medieval', in *Pecar*, pp. 409–28.

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The deadly sins in medieval music: liturgy or pedagogy?

The study of the deadly sins in any form is inherently didactic, and the use of this genre in medieval music touches on an interesting question: where does one draw the line between liturgical and pedagogical music? In order to address this issue, we should consider briefly how medieval music functions in its various contexts. Music allies itself with other disciplines of the fine arts only in the Renaissance, when it begins to express the written word in highly mimetic ways and when composers produce works that they assume will outlive them.[7] Before this time, the 'art' in music, which formed part of the medieval *quadrivium* (arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, music), was its liturgical or secular function.[8] By heightening speech, medieval music could enhance the liturgical praises of the Church and the amorous expressions of the songs of the vernacular poets. The notes themselves do not discriminate between sacred and secular music, however. Indeed, authors of today's textbooks on music often comment that the music for the one sphere might serve for the other, in terms of range, rhythm and overall style.[9] The two realms are distinguished mostly by the form and text-content of their music: the responsory *Videns Jacob*, mentioned above, is about envy, whereas the troubadour song *A chanter m'er* deals with earthly love.

In the same way, pitches and melodies in medieval music signal neither goodness nor its opposite. The responsory *Videns Jacob*, given above, and the responsory *Sanctus namque Quintinus* that follows below both share an identical, repetitive musical form. The text of the former deals with envy, while the latter is a panegyric to a virtuous saint:

> Sanctus namque Quintinus urbe Roma genitus Domino ducente ad Gallias venit insignis et virtutibus gloriose a Christo honoratus.[10]
>
> ('For Saint Quintinus, born in the city of Rome, came to Gaul, with the Lord leading him, and, distinguished with virtues, he was gloriously honored by Christ.')

The music of each responsory partakes of the 'evil' or 'good' of its text only through association with the words. In these and other ways, medieval music

7 See K. Berger, *A Theory of Art* (New York, 2000), pp. 115 ff.; and R. C. Wegman, 'From Maker to Composer: Improvisation and Musical Authorship in the Low Countries, 1450–1500', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 49.3 (1996), 409–79.

8 J. E. Stevens argues that extra-liturgical songs serve as art-song in the Middle Ages; *Words and Music in the Middle Ages: Song, Narrative, Dance and Drama, 1050–1350* (Cambridge, 1986, reprint 1988), pp. 63–73.

9 See, for instance, C. Wright and B. Simms, *Music in Western Civilization – Media Update* (Boston, 2010), pp. 46; and T. Roden, C. Wright and B. Simms, *Anthology for Music in Western Civilization – Media Update, Volume I: Antiquity through the Baroque* (Boston, 2010), pp. 28–9.

10 Text found in Amiens, Bibliothèque Municipale MS 112, fol. 301v.

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diverges from medieval art, in which the iconographic traditions that evolved from the earliest period of the Christian era fostered conventions for intellectual concepts that became fixed and were widely adopted throughout the Middle Ages.[11]

Thus it is text, and not music, that allows us to designate a few pieces from the Middle Ages as *bona fide* musical compositions on the deadly sins. But what purpose did these works serve? Were they pedagogical or did they enjoy functions either within the ritual or as extra-liturgical entertainment? Purely pedagogical music is rare. A few instances of medieval singing études exist,[12] and the formulas for model antiphons (called *neumas*) and psalms (*differentiae*) are preserved in liturgical sources and theory treatises.[13] Similarly, the famous hymn *Ut queant laxis* owes its renown to an eleventh-century music theorist named Guido of Arezzo, who probably composed the tune and who extracted what we now call solfege syllables (*ut-re-mi-fa-sol-la*) from the first word of each line in order to help nascent singers learn to sing music at sight.[14] In so doing, Guido made *Ut queant laxis* an icon of music pedagogy, noting that each line of the hymn began one pitch higher than the previous one and showing how this sequence might have instructional value.

Most didactic music, on the other hand, is actually liturgical music that has been appropriated into medieval tonaries, books that organize the chants of the Divine Office by mode in order to illustrate the medieval theoretical concept of the modes. Tonaries made it easier for choir directors to teach singers and, in turn, for singers to memorize music.[15] And yet the majority of the music in these books comes from practical sources (graduals and antiphoners) that were employed in the daily monastic and secular *cursus*. The distinction

11 For example, see the classic work of A. Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices in Mediaeval Art From Early Christian Times to the Thirteenth Century*, Studies of the Warburg Institute 10 (London, 1939); reprint: Medieval Academy Reprints for Teaching 24 (Toronto, 1989).

12 An example was discussed by J. Herlinger in his 'Singing Exercises from a Medieval Convent', paper read at the Annual Meeting of the American Musicological Society, Los Angeles, 2–5 November 2006.

13 On *neumas* and *differentiae*, see D. Hiley, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook* (Oxford, 1993), pp. 58, 326–9, 331–3.

14 See Guido of Arezzo's 'Epistle Concerning an Unknown Chant', in *Source Readings in Music History*, ed. O. Strunk, rev. edn L. Treitler (New York, 1998), pp. 214–28; and C. V. Palisca, 'Guido of Arezzo', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd edn, ed. S. Sadie, 29 vols. (London, 2001), X, 522–6. An earlier melody for *Ut queant laxis*, attributed to Paul the Deacon, was used in the liturgy of John the Baptist. On the didactic nature of hymnaries in the Middle Ages, see S. Boynton, 'The Didactic Function and Context of Eleventh-Century Glossed Hymnaries', in *Der lateinische Hymnus im Mittelalter: Überlieferung–Ästhetik–Ausstrahlung*, ed. A. Haug, Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi, Subsidia 4 (Kassel, 2004), pp. 301–29; and Boynton, 'Orality, Literacy, and the Early Notation of the Office Hymns', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 56 (2003), 99–168.

15 See the recent study of tonaries in A. M. B. Berger's *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory* (Berkeley, 2005), pp. 47–84 (ch. 2: 'Tonaries: A Tool for Memorizing Chant').

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between didactic and liturgical music in the Middle Ages, then, is often a matter of context, and overlap between the two realms is great.

Additional examples of instruction in music appear in other musical genres whose features will be examined in the pieces on the deadly sins under consideration. Indeed, some functional music for the liturgy contains strikingly didactic characteristics. These works often display the most advanced compositional techniques of their time, while also employing textual devices that dazzle with their cleverness and their potential for aiding memorization. Whether the mnemonic elements were actually efficacious or whether they served simply as visual or aural artifice is unclear, but the possibilities are obvious.

An example of a piece including prominent liturgical and pedagogical prompts is Marchettus of Padua's early fourteenth-century motet *Ave regina celorum* / *Mater innocencie* / Tenor *Ite Joseph*,[16] written for use in the Scrovegni Chapel in Padua. Each line of the triplum begins with a word of the *Ave Maria* prayer (hence, '*Ave* regina celorum, pia virgo tenella / *Maria* candens flos florum, Christique clausa cella / *Gracia* que peccatorum, dira abstulit bella / *Plena* odore unguentorum, stirpis David puella' etc.), and this voice thus forms an acrostic on the ubiquitous oration to the Virgin Mary. At the same time, the middle voice writes out the composer's name, MARCUM PADUANUM (using the accusative case to signal his plea to be the recipient of grace), likewise as an acrostic. We will see that some musical works on the deadly sins have analogously constructivist poetic features.

Another important stimulus for compositions on the seven deadly sins, albeit non-musical, is found in medieval drama of all varieties. Sermons, exempla and morality plays frequently expound on the sins and their remedies by assigning highly dramatic roles to the personified vices or to the preacher who acts them out for his congregation.[17] From extant descriptions, it appears that the English *Pater Noster* play, for instance, typically subdivided the Lord's Prayer into its seven petitions. Each petition was then aligned with one of the deadly sins, the remedy for which was revealed in the accompanying lively exegesis on the petition.[18] Here, memorization and admonition work hand-in-hand with drama. The deadly sins clearly found an important outlet in performance, a feature that musical settings of the sins obviously share.

16 On this work, see A. W. Robertson, 'Remembering the Annunciation in Medieval Polyphony', *Speculum* 70 (1995), 275–304. See below, nn. 39 and 30, for information, respectively, on how the names of motets and the designations of their internal voices are recorded in this article.

17 See A. J. Fletcher, 'Performing the Seven Deadly Sins: How one Late-Medieval English Preacher did it', *Leeds Studies in English* n.s. 29 (1998), 89–108. The author describes ways in which the preacher was supposed to bring each sin to life in his sermon.

18 See D. Wyatt, 'The English Pater Noster Play: Evidence and Extrapolations', *Comparative Drama* 30 (1996–7), 452–70. No examples of these plays survive, although documents relating to their performance do exist. The *Pater Noster* plays grew out of the sermon tradition, which likewise related the sins to this fundamental prayer.

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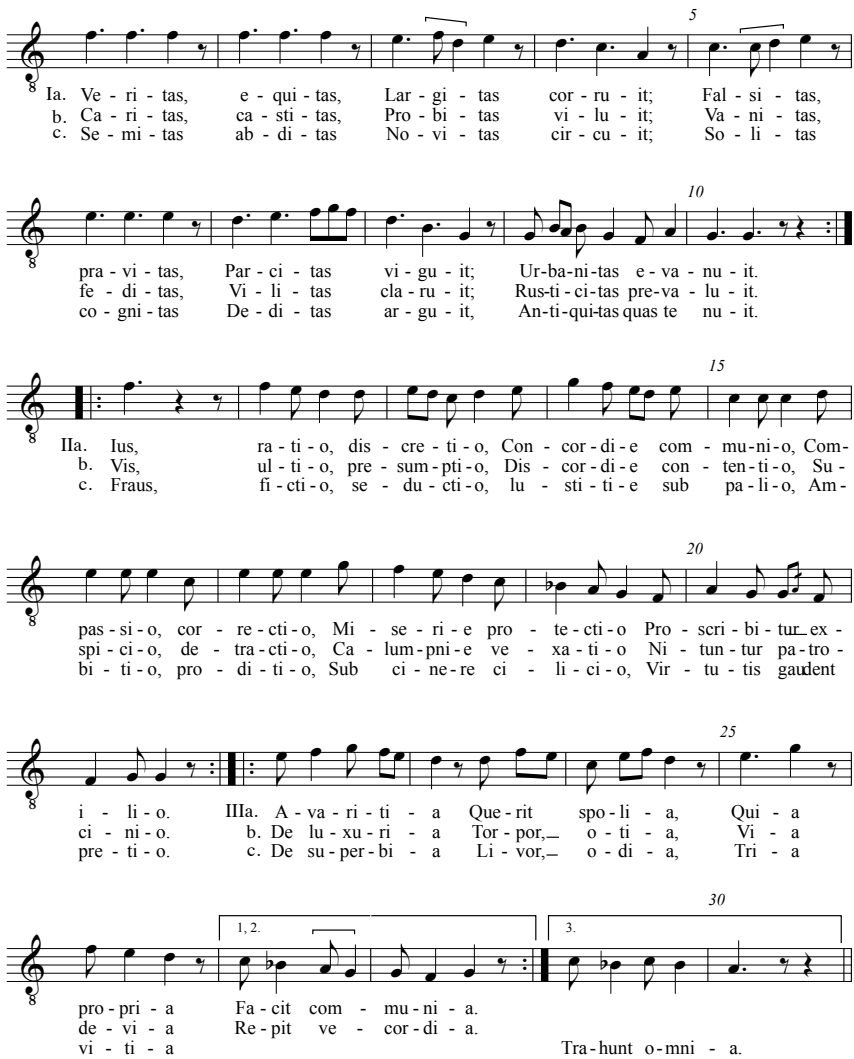
Philip the Chancellor's Conductus *Veritas equitas* (stanzas 1-3)

Ia. Ve - ri - tas, e - qui - tas, Lar - gi - tas cor - ru - it; Fal - si - tas,
b. Ca - ri - tas, ca - sti - tas, Pro - bi - tas vi - lu - it; Va - ni - tas,
c. Se - mi - tas ab - di - tas No - vi - tas cir - cu - it; So - li - tas
pra - vi - tas, Par - ci - tas vi - gu - it; Ur-ba-ni-tas e - va - nu - it.
fe - di - tas, Vi - li - tas cla - ru - it; Rus-ti - ci-tas pre-va - lu - it.
co - gni - tas De - di - tas ar - gu - it, An-ti-qui-tas quas te nu - it.
IIa. Ius, ra - ti - o, dis - cre - ti - o, Con - cor - di - e com - mu-ni-o, Com-
b. Vis, ul - ti - o, pre - sum - pti - o, Dis - cor - di - e con - ten - ti - o, Su -
c. Fraus, fi - cti - o, se - du - cti - o, lu - sti - ti - e sub pa - li - o, Am -
pas - si - o, cor - re - cti - o, Mi - se - ri - e pro - te - cti - o Pro - scri - bi - tur ex -
spi - ci - o, de - tra - cti - o, Ca - lum - pni - e ve - xa - ti - o Ni - tun - tur pa - tro -
bi - ti - o, pro - di - ti - o, Sub ci - ne - re ci - li - ci - o, Vir - tu - tis gaudent
i - li - o.
IIIa. A - va - ri - ti - a Que - rit spo - li - a, Qui - a
ci - ni - o. b. De lu - xu - ri - a Tor - por, o - ti - a, Vi - a
pre - ti - o. c. De su - per - bi - a Li - vor, o - di - a, Tri - a
1, 2.
3.
pro - pri - a Fa - cit com - mu - ni - a.
de - vi - a Re - pit ve - cor - di - a.
vi - ti - a Tra - hunt o - mni - a.

Music Example 8.1

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Philip the Chancellor's Conductus *Veritas equitas* (stanzas 1–3), translation
(music and text from *Notre-Dame and Related Conductus*, ed. Anderson, p. 88)

I.a. Truth, equity,
And generosity tumble down;
Falsity, depravity,
And meanness flourish;
Courtesy has vanished.

I.b. Love, chastity,
And honesty grow worthless;
Vanity, foulness,
And worthiness shine clear;
Boorish manners prevail.

I.c. Novelty rushes through
Hidden paths;
Solitude proves wrong
The well known obligations
Which Antiquity held.

II.a. Law, reason, discretion,
Concord's communion,
Compassion, correction,
Misfortune's protection,
Are all thrown into exile.

II.b. Violence, revenge,
presumption,
Discord's strife,
Suspicion, disparagement,
Calumny's vexation,
All strive after protection and
patronage.

II.c. Deceit, lies, seduction,
Beneath a cloak of justice,
Ambition, betrayal,
In ashes and sackcloth,
All rejoice in the sale of virtue.

III.a. Avarice
Seeks out spoils,
Because it makes private wealth
Quite public.

III.b. From Lechery
Torpor, ease,
Through a devious way,
As well as madness all creep.

III.c. From Pride
Come Envy and hatred:
These three vices
Draw out all other sins . . .

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The musical works to which we now turn are in many ways *sui generis*, but each, to some extent, draws on one or more of the practices just described. These eclectic pieces, as we have suggested, straddle the fluid divide between liturgical and didactic music. Their ability to exist in this borderland stems in part from their origin in the high and late Middle Ages, a time when the ties of music to its chant basis were loosened and reliance of musical texts solely on the Bible was no longer *de rigueur*. Composers who penned this music draw on other kinds of pious inspiration, and their works illustrate the full range of these sources. Several new, post-Gregorian musical genres arise at this time, two of which, the conductus and the motet, are preferred by composers of works on the deadly sins.

The sins in the thirteenth-century conductus

One of these newer musical genres is the conductus, a Latin song without chant underpinning written on a religious, political or satirical text. This form, which originated in southern France near the end of the twelfth century, offered especially rich possibilities for treating the sins as indicators of the general corruption of the day. Adopted as one of the important musical genres by Parisian composers of the Notre Dame School of the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, the conductus was cultivated extensively in both monophony and polyphony. Here condemnation, particularly of the clergy, is so vociferous that it seems likely that these works functioned outside the liturgy, perhaps as recreational music-making among clerics. A Latin conductus written by Philip the Chancellor of Paris (*c.* 1160/70–1236), *Veritas equitas* (Music Example 8.1),[19] illustrates how the deadly sins might inform these pieces.

Philip the Chancellor had good reason to pen *Veritas equitas*. As chief educational officer in Paris, Philip witnessed much of the conflict between town and gown that took place in this city and elsewhere in France.[20] Owing to his position in the Parisian ecclesiastical hierarchy, he must have enjoyed some degree of liberty to offer openly critical remarks. A sharp-tongued yet influential poet, and probably a composer as well, Philip reveals himself both in his writings

19 On this conductus, see *Notre-Dame and Related Conductus: opera omnia*, ed. G. A. Anderson, 10 vols. (Henryville, 1979), VI, 88–91, 147–8; *Secular Medieval Latin Song: An Anthology*, ed. B. Gillingham, Wissenschaftliche Abhandlungen 60/1 (Ottawa, 1993), pp. 404–14; R. Falck, *The Notre Dame Conductus: A Study of the Repertory*, Wissenschaftliche Abhandlungen 33 (Henryville, 1981), p. 254. I am grateful to Thomas B. Payne for his thoughts about this and the following piece by Philip the Chancellor.

20 Both this work and *Vitia virtutibus*, to be discussed further on, have medieval ascriptions to Philip the Chancellor. For a listing of Philip the Chancellor's works, see T. B. Payne, 'Philip the Chancellor', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd edn, XIX, 594–7; and Payne, '*Aurelianus civitas*: Student Unrest in Medieval France and a Conductus by Philip the Chancellor', *Speculum* 75 (2000), 589–614.

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and in his musical works as a man thoroughly schooled in classical and biblical allusions. His major philosophical treatise, the *Summa de bono*, touches on many facets of good and evil, although it does not treat the seven deadly sins together in systematic fashion.[21] Philip's voice of reproach in *Veritas equitas* draws on the scholasticism of his *Summa*, while adding a level of vitriol that unmistakably reveals his dissatisfaction with society.

In *Veritas equitas* (Music Example 8.1), the virtues of truth, fairness, love, chastity and others have all disappeared and are replaced by an army of vices. Among these, the deadly sins avarice, lechery, pride, envy and hatred (stanza 3) lead the pack. Philip tells us that it is the clergy who most often commit these sins: as usurpers in their positions, they are guilty of nepotism, cronyism and cowardice. Not surprisingly, *Veritas equitas* is rubricated 'De prelatis' ('Concerning prelates') in one of its manuscripts,[22] pointing directly to the targets of Philip's censure. He goes on to complain that the deplorable state of the Church has negatively affected the crown.[23]

Despite the prominent role that the sins play in stanza 3 of *Veritas equitas*, the music of the conductus does little to highlight them. The melodic range in the third stanza, where the sins are named, lies between *F* and the *g* a ninth higher, just as it does in the first two stanzas. The one feature that sets apart the text of stanza 3 is its poetic structure. Whereas the first stanza consists of six- and eight-syllable lines and the second contains octosyllabic lines, the third stanza announces the sins in more succinct, five- and six-syllable lines. This concision turns our attention to Philip's stark proclamation of the sins.[24]

Veritas equitas is not Philip's only work that mentions the sins. A similar diatribe is found in his conductus *Vitia virtutibus* (Music Example 8.2).[25] This time we have a psychomachia that lists all, rather than just some, of the deadly sins in the space of only a few lines. The effect of naming the sins one after another in close proximity, often using the same case of nouns (usually nominative) with the same ending, adds conspicuously to the rhetorical power of this piece. Again, the music underlying the sins is hardly a factor: each of the twenty-six stanzas of *Vitia virtutibus* is set strophically to the same melody, as seen in Music Example 8.2.

21 *Philippi Cancellarii Parisiensis Summa de bono*, ed. N. Wicki, 2 vols., Corpus philosophorum Medii Aevi: Opera philosophica Mediae Aetatis selecta 2 (Bern, 1985).

22 London, British Library MS Egerton 274, fol. 28v.

23 Here he probably refers to the political situation at the time this piece was composed – when Louis IX (*r.* 1226–70) was still in his minority and the government was in the hands of his mother Blanche of Castile. P. Dronke suggests a dating of this work between 1226 and 1236 in the liner notes for the recording by Sequentia, *Philippe le Chancelier, Notre-Dame-Schule (School of Notre Dame)* (Freiburg, 1990).

24 The five- and six-syllable lines further on in the poem somewhat dilute the effect of the third stanza, albeit only retrospectively. For further discussion of this piece, see Stevens, *Words and Music*, p. 142.

25 On this work, see Gillingham, *Secular Medieval Latin Song*, pp. 341–2; Falck, *The Notre Dame Conductus*, p. 256.

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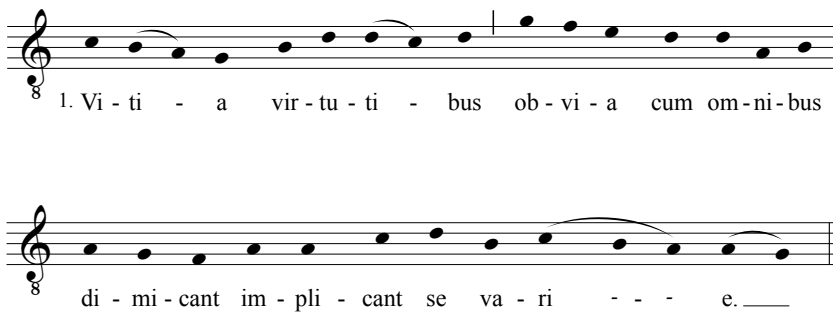
Philip the Chancellor's Conductus *Vitia virtutibus* (stanzas 1-5)



1. Vitia virtutibus	The adverse vices
obvia cum omnibus	with all the virtues
dimicant	struggle;
implicant se varie.	they entangle themselves in various ways.
2. Icitibus ac variis	With stings and various
actibus contrariis	contrary actions
vulnerant	they wound;
superant in acie.	they have the upper hand in sharpness.
3. Capulis concutiunt	They shake violently at the hilt,
vinculis compediunt	they shackle with chains,
stimulis	with hurled goads
iaculis confodiunt.	they pierce.
4. Ira phylargia	Anger, avarice,
livor et accidia	envy and sloth,
Gloria	(vain)glory,
gula cum luxuria	gluttony with lust.
5. Intonat superbia	Pride cries out,
ingemuit invidia	envy wails,
odia	wrath
movet iracundia . . .	sets hatreds in motion . . .

Music Example 8.2

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The ordering of the sins in both *Vitia virtutibus* and *Veritas equitas* is something of a puzzle. The presence of avarice at the head of the list in *Veritas equitas* does not suggest any standard medieval arrangement. The placement of lechery second might point to the anchoritic treatments of the sins that outline the steps of an anchorite's progress by listing the bodily sins first.[26] The coupling of pride with envy is understandable, in light of the direct, filial relationship between these two sins, but it is all the more interesting that pride does not head Philip's list, since he states repeatedly in his *Summa de bono* that *superbia* is the root of all evil.[27] One explanation for his arrangement is perhaps found in the medieval notion of the 'three enemies of man', according to which the sins are grouped into the well-known triad: the world (avarice), the flesh (gluttony, lechery, sloth) and the devil (pride, envy, anger).[28] Philip's decision to name avarice first also reflects the 'greater stress [that] was laid on avarice from the twelfth century onwards',[29] and may help explain its preeminence in *Veritas equitas*. Another peculiarity of this conductus is that only five of the deadly sins appear in stanza 3, with gluttony arriving much later in the piece (stanza 7).[30] Philip himself offers a plausible explanation for this abbreviation in stanza 3, where he writes 'These three vices [pride, envy, hatred] drag along all the rest'. Likewise, the unusual order of the sins in Philip's *Vitia virtutibus* – anger, avarice, envy, sloth, (vain)glory, gluttony and lust – seems intended in part to fit the requirements of the poetry: instead of 'vana gloria', we are given simply 'gloria' in the fourth stanza. This abridgement accommodates the final decasyllabic line that counterbalances the preceding two seven-syllable lines. Whereas Philip, like other theologians, is eager to publish the names of some or all of the sins in *Vitia virtutibus*, he yields to the claims of the poetry in doing so.

The sins in the fourteenth-century motet: the *Roman de Fauvel*

Another new genre of the post-Gregorian era was the motet, a form that evolved through addition of new texts to *clausulas*, pieces consisting of a Gregorian-chant *cantus firmus* and one or more melismatic upper voices. The two-, three- and

26 See Newhauser, *Treatise*, pp. 104–8. Lechery, moreover, is given the daughter sins torpor, ease and madness, which are not commonly assigned to it.

27 *Summa de bono*, De bono gratie, De bono gratie in homine, III. De caritate, C. De quatuor cardinalibus virtutibus, Q. III. Quare dicuntur cardinales, ed. Wicki, pp. 755–6 (lines 48–55), 1111 (lines 153–9).

28 See S. Wenzel, 'The Three Enemies of Man', *Mediaeval Studies* 29 (1967), 47–66, especially 62 ff. My thanks to the editors of the present volume for suggesting this possibility.

29 Bloomfield, *Sins*, p. 95. R. Newhauser, however, emphasizes the influential position of this sin from the patristic period through the late twelfth century in *Greed*.

30 *Notre-Dame and Related Conductus*, ed. Anderson, VII, 88–91: 'Nulli custodie, familie sed nimie student, lascivie cum ingluvie, procurande cuti' ('They are custodians to no one, yet too much they look after their own kind; lasciviously and with gluttony, they tend their own skin'). Sloth is not mentioned in this piece.

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four-voice motets of the thirteenth century were the most popular music of the day, surpassing the now moribund conductus. Many technical innovations, particularly in the areas of rhythmic notation and semiotic play, were worked out in this genre.[31] Here we begin to see possibilities for expression which, while still firmly connected to the theological implications of the time-honored Gregorian base, now milk the analogical and other interpretive possibilities of the *cantus firmus*, endowing the genre with deeper levels of meaning. These motets deal with many different topics, including secular and sacred love. Some include admonition of courtly and ecclesiastical authority, and it is in 'criticism pieces' of this type that one or all of the deadly sins are often found.

The widespread upheaval of fourteenth-century French society ushered in a new aesthetic of musical composition. In this environment, criticism-works stemming from the tradition of admonitory poetry that had been established in the compositions of Philip the Chancellor prospered. One group of motets that draws directly on the tradition of the deadly sins appears in the second decade of the fourteenth century, another at mid-century. The impetus for this renewed interest in the sins is, in part, a single, monumental work of poetry from around 1314, the *Roman de Fauvel*, to which musical and artistic interpolations were added around 1317.

The significance of the *Roman de Fauvel* for several scholarly fields is well known, but its place in a discussion of the history of the deadly sins in music has hardly been noted.[32] A satirical allegory reflecting the politics of medieval France in the first quarter of the fourteenth century, *Fauvel* emphasizes the deep divisions in France and general moral decay that foreshadow the royal succession crisis of the 1320s. The poem harks back to thirteenth- and early fourteenth century literature that uses animal characters and other allegorical figures to deliver anonymous, derogatory messages to those in the upper echelons of society. The character of Fauvel is a grotesque hybrid, a half-person, half-horse, in whom resides all the evil of the time. His very name is intimately connected with the sins: 'FAUVEL' is an acronym for the French words for six of the vices: *flaterie*, *avarice*, *villanie*, *variété*, *envie* and *laschété*.

31 The individual lines in a three-voice motet are generally referred to (from top to bottom) as 'triplum', 'motetus', and 'tenor', and I will use these designations throughout this article. (If a higher fourth voice is present, it is called the 'quadruplum'.)

32 The *Roman de Fauvel* is edited in *Le roman de Fauvel in the Edition of Mesire Chaillou de Pesstain: A Reproduction in Facsimile of the Complete Manuscript, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds français 146*, ed. E. Roesner, F. Avril and N. Regalado (New York, 1990). See also the edition and French translation in Arman Strubel, ed. and trans., *Le Roman de Fauvel* (Paris, 2012); and the edition of the complete text of the musical pieces in E. Dahnk, *L'hérésie de Fauvel*, Leipziger romanistische Studien 4 (Leipzig, 1935), and of the poem itself in *Roman de Fauvel, Gervais du Bus – Chaillou de Pestain*, ed. M. Lecco, Biblioteca medievale 13 (Milan, 1998). For recent work on *Fauvel*, see *Fauvel Studies: Allegory, Chronicle, Music, and Image in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS français 146*, ed. M. Bent and A. Wathey (Oxford, 1998), pp. 1–24. The summary of the content of the poem in this and the following paragraph relies on *Le roman de Fauvel*, ed. Roesner, Avril and Regalado, p. 3.

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In the poem, Fauvel emerges from the lowly horse stables and is gradually elevated to the throne by Fortune. King and pope alike seek his favor, that is, they 'curry favor' or 'curry Fauvel', and this preoccupation leads them to shirk their responsibilities. This topsy-turvy world is evident in almost every facet of the *Roman*: the Church is dominated largely by secular authority, clerics and religious alike espouse sin and heresy, injustice runs rampant and the end of the world appears to be at hand. The second book of *Fauvel* tells the story of the beast's courtship and marriage to Vain Glory. It is here that we find music with texts concerning the deadly sins in a lengthy section in which personifications of each are introduced one by one.[33] Fauvel attempts to woo Fortune, but she rejects him, sending him instead her handmaid Vain Glory. Out of this unsavory wedlock there arise many offspring, 'new Fauvels', who go on to populate and corrupt France.

The *Roman de Fauvel* is one of the most popular works of the Middle Ages. It survives in twelve manuscripts, including the magnificent, reworked version with musical and artistic additions from around 1316–17, made by an author who identifies himself as Chaillou de Pesstain, and preserved in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 146 (hereafter Paris fr. 146). In addition to its status as a literary masterpiece, the various versions of *Fauvel* provide us with invaluable insight into the complex process of reworking a medieval text.[34]

Despite the number and richness of sources for *Fauvel*, it is still unclear what the exact purpose of the poem was. The decoration and content of the interpolated Paris fr. 146 point to a connection with the royal court of France, and the book served at least in part as a *speculum principis* or 'extended admonition to the French king'.[35] The earlier and later versions of *Fauvel* seem to refer, respectively, to the two kings who reigned in quick succession during the waning years of the Capetian dynasty, Louis X (*r.* 1314–16) and Philip V (*r.* 1316–22). Because mirrors of princes traditionally include expositions on the seven deadly sins – the well-known *Somme le roi* composed for Philip III (*r.* 1270–85) incorporates a lengthy section on this topic[36] – the fact that several motets in *Fauvel* treat one or all of the sins is not surprising. Their incarnation as songs, however, is surely one of the more intriguing aspects of this work.

33 On the personifications, see K. Brownlee, 'Authorial Self-Representation and Literary Models in the *Roman de Fauvel*', in *Fauvel Studies,* ed. Bent and Wathey, pp. 89, 95.

34 For a discussion of the materiality of *Fauvel*, see E. Dillon, *Medieval Music-Making and the Roman de Fauvel* (Cambridge, 2002).

35 See A. Wathey, 'Gervès du Bus, the *Roman de Fauvel*, and the Politics of the Later Capetian Court', in *Fauvel Studies,* ed. Bent and Wathey, pp. 599–613 (p. 599); and S. Rankin, 'The Divine Truth of Scripture: Chant in the *Roman de Fauvel*', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 47.2 (1994), 203–43 (pp. 203–6).

36 See the translation of this treatise by Laurent d'Orléans in *The Book of Vices and Virtues: A Fourteenth-Century English Translation of the Somme le roi of Lorens d'Orléans*, ed. W. Nelson Francis, EETS OS 217 (London, 1942). The sins are discussed on pp. 10–68.

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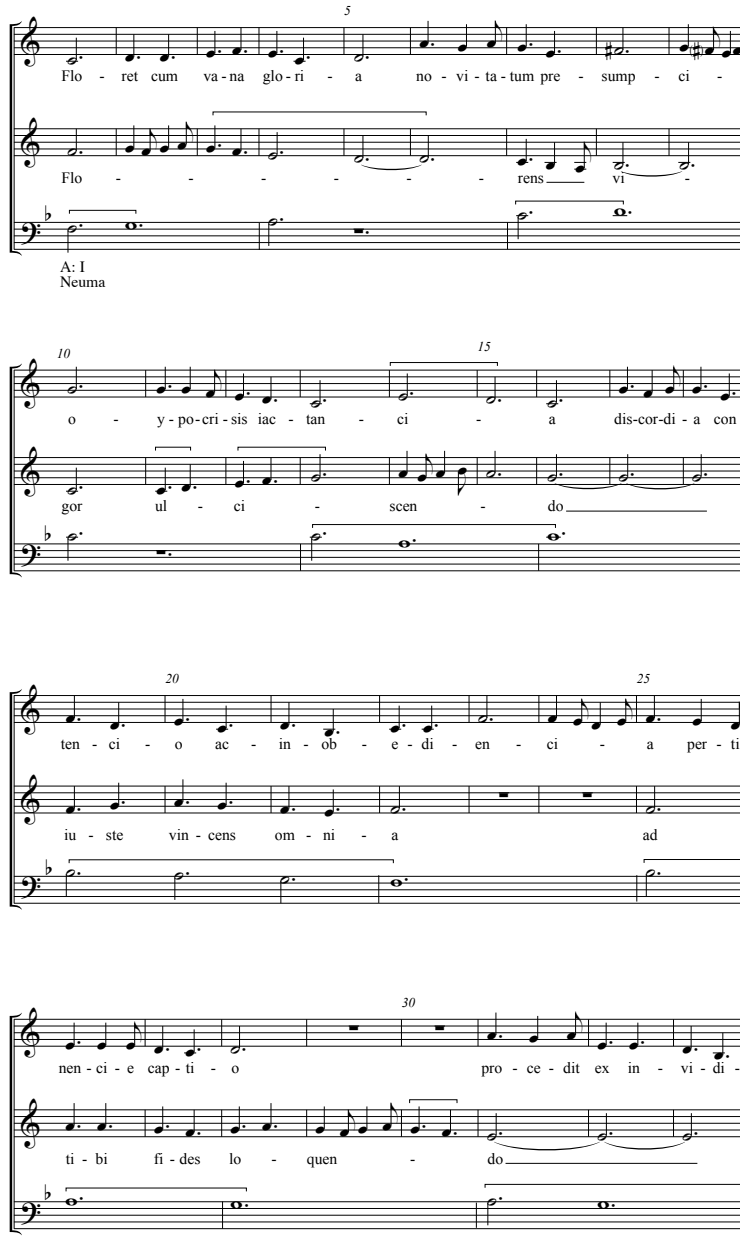
Motet *Floret / Florens / Neuma* (opening)

5
Flo - ret cum va - na glo - ri - a no - vi - ta - tum pre - sump - ci -
Flo - - - - - - rens vi -
A: I
Neuma
10
15
o - y - po - cri - sis iac - tan - ci - a dis-cor-di - a con -
gor ul - ci - scen - do
20
25
ten - ci - o ac - in - ob - e - di - en - ci - a per - ti -
iu - ste vin - cens om - ni - a ad
30
nen - ci - e cap - ti - o pro - ce - dit ex in - vi - di -
ti - bi fi - des lo - quen - do

Music Example 8.3. Motet *Floret/Florens/Neuma*, opening
(Sanders, 'The Early Motets', pp. 37–9)

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Much of the added music in Paris fr. 146 is retrospective, drawing from the corpus of thirteenth-century sources of both monophony and polyphony, including a reprise of Philip the Chancellor's conductus *Veritas equitas*.[37] Some of the older musical compositions were revised through modernization and transformation into genres that more readily met the needs of the poem, while others were composed afresh. Still other music in *Fauvel* was 'fauvelized', that is customized for the poem through the insertion, for instance, of Fauvel's name into an otherwise liturgical piece.[38] The more recent works are especially valuable to musicologists, because they bear witness to the new fourteenth-century musical style known as the *ars nova*, which ushered in many innovations in musical notation, rhythm and compositional technique.[39] A new-style motet of this type gave rise to a monophonic composition in *Fauvel*, entitled *Carnalitas luxuria*, which is a full disquisition on the deadly sins and their offshoots, set to music. But in order to understand *Carnalitas luxuria*, we must first look at the work from which it was derived.

The motet *Floret cum vana Gloria* / *Florens* / Tenor *Neuma* (Musical Example 8.3) seems clearly destined for the *Roman de Fauvel*, but it was transmitted instead in contemporaneous sources.[40] This work is especially important for a study of the deadly sins because of the singular nature of its triplum text (Text 8.1).[41] The poem reads like a rhythmicized tract on the deadly sins: its thirty-six octosyllabic, proparoxytonic lines list the sins and their sub-species in scholastic fashion, and its constant alternation of *–a* and *–o* endings in naming the sins only enhances this academic presentation. The fluctuation seems

37 *Le roman de Fauvel*, ed. Roesner, Avril and Regalado, fols. 22v–23r; Dahnk, *L'hérésie de Fauvel*, pp. 107–12. For a list of Notre Dame conductus contained in *Fauvel*, see L. Welker, 'Polyphonic Reworkings of Notre-Dame Conductûs in BN fr. 146: *Mundus a mundicia* and *Quare fremuerunt*', in *Fauvel Studies*, ed. Bent and Wathey, pp. 616–17.

38 See Rankin, 'The Divine Truth of Scripture', pp. 216–19.

39 On the *ars nova* in music, see S. Fuller, 'A Phantom Treatise of the Fourteenth Century? The *Ars Nova*', *The Journal of Musicology* 4 (1985–6), 23–50; and D. Leech-Wilkinson, 'The Emergence of *Ars Nova*', *The Journal of Musicology* 13 (1995), 285–317.

40 Brussels, Bibliothèque royale MS 19606, verso top page (of this rotulus manuscript); and Cambrai, Bibliothèque municipale MS 1328, fol. 12r–v (partly preserved). The *Floret* motet is edited in E. Sanders, 'The Early Motets of Philippe de Vitry', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 28 (1975), 24–45 (pp. 37–45); the texts of the upper voices, translated by D. Howlett with slight changes by L. Holford-Strevens, are given in A. V. Clark, 'The Flowering of Charnalité and the Marriage of Fauvel', in *Fauvel Studies*, ed. Bent and Wathey, pp. 183–6. In naming motets, music historians typically cite the incipits of each of the voices. I adopt this usage for my first reference to each of the motets discussed here, but I use a shorthand, e.g. 'the *Floret* motet', in all subsequent references.

41 Aspects of the relationship between *Carnalitas luxuria* and the *Floret* motet have been treated by Clark, 'The Flowering of Charnalité', pp. 175–86, albeit not the theological source of the triplum. In fact, most discussions of this piece have focused on the motetus, which includes topical references to events surrounding the creation of *Fauvel*; see Sanders, 'The Early Motets', pp. 32–3.

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to imitate the vowels of the first vice named (*vana gloria*), and the entire poem thus functions as a sort of aural trope on the sounds of 'v*a*n - *a* gl*o*r - i - *a*' that pervade the entire piece.[42] With its slavish, versified recitation of the sins, the poem might have served as a mnemonic or didactic work, meant to help a person, whether singing or listening, learn the names of the sins and their offspring, as well as a commentary on the contemporaneous events that are outlined in the motetus.[43] A closer look at the poetry of the *Floret* motet shows that the author/composer had a particular presentation of the sins in mind, namely that of Gregory the Great or of a treatise dependent on his (Text 8.1).[44] Not only is the list of sins in the motet given in precisely the same order as Gregory's, but almost all the Gregorian daughter sins likewise appear.

How did the poet/composer of the *Floret* work transform the Gregorian prototype into what sounds like a patter-song on the sins? The process was quite simple. In order to make the ends of lines rhyme, he alternates first- and third-declension nouns. While the Gregorian daughter sins seem to have been seriously reshuffled in the *Floret* motet, actually the poet simply oscillates between those having third-declension endings and ones with first-declension endings. Hence, we find *presumptio*, *iactantia*, *contentio*, *inobedientia* in the first stanza of the *Floret* text as species of vainglory, whereas Gregory writes *inobedientia*, *iactantia*, *contentiones* and *presumptiones*. In addition, a few neuter singular nouns are changed to plural for the sake of the rhyme: *odia*, for example, in place of Gregory's *odium*. In some cases, synonyms are used. Gregory's *afflictio* is transformed to *iniuria* in the motet because of the need for an *–a* ending at this point, and his *ventris ingluvie* becomes the more familiar *gula*, no doubt in order to perpetuate the octosyllabic scheme. Similarly, Gregory's *tristitia* is replaced by the more familiar *accidia*, although here the reason is neither scansion nor word-ending.

Another similarity between the motet triplum and Gregory's treatise is the parallel use of the prepositions 'ex' in the *Floret* piece and 'de' in Gregory. Perhaps some intervening theological source suggested 'ex' to the poet/composer of the motet, but it is possible that he made a poetic choice, noting that 'de' preceding a noun beginning with a vowel is considerably more difficult to sing than 'ex' followed by a noun, because the former does not allow for elision in

42 The technique of aural troping was well established by the beginning of the fourteenth century; its application to polyphonic music was one of the generating forces in the creation of the motet in the thirteenth century. See T. B. Payne, '*Associa tecum in patria:* A Newly Identified Organum Trope by Philip the Chancellor', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 39.2 (1986), 233–54.

43 See the translation of the motetus in Clark, 'The Flowering of Charnalité', pp. 183–6; see also n. 39 above.

44 Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Job*, 31.45.87–9, ed. M. Adriaen, 3 vols., CCSL 143, 143A and 143B (Turnhout, 1979–85), 143B, pp. 1610–11. Raymund of Pennaforte's seminal *Summa . . . casuum conscientiae* (Paris, 1720), p. 432; and Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum naturale* 30.91 (Douai, 1624), cols. 2284–5, are examples of tracts on the sins that both drew on Gregory's *Moralia* and were available in late medieval Paris. See also Bloomfield, *Sins*, p. 124.

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Text 8.1. The sins in the *Floret* Motet (text from Clark, 'The Flowering of Charnalité', pp. 183–5; trans. in ibid.,pp. 185–6), compared with Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Job* 31

FLORET Motet	Gregory the Great
Floret cum VANA GLORIA Novitatum presumptio Ypocrisis iactantia Discordia contentio Ac inobedientia Pertinentie captio	1. De INANI GLORIA, inobedientia, jactantia, hypocrisis, contentiones, pertinaciae, discordiae, novitatum praesumptiones oriuntur.
Procedit ex INVIDIA In prosperis afflictio Detractio et odia Nocensque sussuratio De proximi iniuria Ioconda exultatio	2. De INVIDIA, odium, susurratio, detractio, exultatio in adversis proximi, afflictio autem in prosperis nascitur.
Ex IRA contumelia Exit et indignatio Clamor rixe blasphemia Mentis turget inflatio	3. De IRA, rixae tumor mentis, contumeliae, clamor, indignatio, blasphemiae proferuntur.
Profluit ex ACCIDIA Foras mencis vagatio Malicia pigricia Rancor et dispiratio	4. De TRISTITIA, malitia, rancor, pusillanimitas, desperatio, torpor circa praecepta, vagatio mentis erga illicita nascitur.
Manat ex AVARITIA Fallacia prodicio Iniquitas periuria Fraus cordis obduratio	5. De AVARITIA, proditio, fraus fallacia, periuria, inquietudo, violentiae, et contra misericordiam obdurationes cordis oriuntur.
Ex GULA inmundicia Sensus hebes in genio Scurilitas leticia Vana cum multiloqueo	6. De VENTRIS INGLUVIE, inepta laetitia, scurrilitas, immunditia, multiloquium, hebetudo sensus circa intelligentiam propagantur.
Sequitur ex LUXURIA Huius mundi affectio Cecitas inconstantia Ac inconsideratio Horror futura gloria Gravis precipitatio In deum parit odia Nostre carnis dilectio.	7. De LUXURIA, caecitas mentis, inconsideratio, inconstantia, praecipitatio, amor sui, odium dei, affectus praesentis saeculi, horror autem vel desperatio futuri generatur.

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performance. On the other hand, it is more challenging to glide from a vowel into the motet poet's 'ex' than into Gregory's 'de'. This latter obstacle occurs at the words 'obduracio ex gula', where, although 'obduracio' falls at the end of a stanza, the composer ignores the caesura and instead runs the words together.[45] Not only does the poet of the *Floret* motet borrow words and word order wholesale from Gregory's treatise (or some work derived from it), but he keeps the very structure of the text intact. He only needed to add a verb with the general meaning of 'to exit' to the descriptions of each sin and, as noted earlier, to rearrange the nouns to fit the rhyme scheme.

To our modern ears, one of the more baffling aspects of the medieval motet is its simultaneous declamation of multiple texts. In combining texts in different languages, the three- and four-voice motets of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries seldom allow the individual voices to be clearly discerned. While the tenor proceeds slowly at the bottom of the texture, the upper lines tend to move at about the same rate and considerably more quickly than the tenor, thus vying with one another for perceptibility. This practice, which sounds foreign to us today, might cause us to wonder if the proclamation of the sins in the *Floret* triplum was as audible as the foregoing analysis would seem to suggest.

Several features of the *Floret* motet do, however, make its triplum exceptionally intelligible. The triplum poem is more than twice as long as that of the motetus: thirty-six lines in the triplum, compared to sixteen in the motetus. Although this proportion is hardly unique in the motet repertory, here the upper voice is declaimed more clearly than in other polytextual motets. Often, in fact, the triplum and motetus seem purposely to take turns singing: the triplum, for instance, manages to articulate two full lines of text at the beginning (mm. 1–10), while the motetus announces only two words (*Florens vigor*), lingering over the first syllable *Flo-*. This delay in the motetus works to the advantage of the triplum, which likewise has *-o-* sounds in prominent places and thus avoids aural collisions. With staggered motion between the voices and no vowel clashes in the first part of the piece, the words of the triplum are almost entirely comprehensible.

Another characteristic of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century motets that can lessen audience perception of the words is the narrow range of the upper voices. This constraint causes the triplum and motetus voices to cross over one another frequently. Although it might seem that this convention would impede the intelligibility of the deadly sins in our triplum text, in fact it does not. Once again, the composer avoids the problem by slowing or even silencing the triplum at points at which the motetus rises above it (mm. 14–15).

Scholars of music have traditionally viewed the *Floret* motet as less advanced than many of the other 'new' motets contained in the *Roman de Fauvel*. Daniel Leech-Wilkinson writes about this piece:

[45] See Sanders, 'The Early Motets', pp. 40–1.

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> its counterpoint is far more crude [than that of other motets in *Fauvel*] with ugly upper-voice clashes, monotonous decorations of lengthy sonorities (often by leaping up and down over a fourth – the last resort of a composer lacking voice-leading skills) and inconsequential progressions. Its composer knows what new style motets look like but he does not have the skill to make *Floret* sound like one. He is much more likely to be an imitator or a pupil [of the composer of other late motets in *Fauvel*] . . . than the man himself, for it is hard to imagine that a composer with such a rudimentary grasp of counterpoint had the imagination to invent everything that is modern about *Floret/Florens*.[46]

The spots that Leech-Wilkinson signals as particularly 'ugly', however, include the music on the words for four of the vices: *discordia* (Music Example 8.3, m. 17), *invidia* (m. 33), *blasphemia* (m. 67) and *desperacio* (m. 86). Taking the sinful implications of these words into account, we might ask which of the 'contrapuntal deadly sins' the composer has committed. In m. 17, he writes an interval of a second between the two upper voices. This dissonance is emphasized by its strong metrical position, which violates the rules of contemporaneous music theorists who forbid discords on accented beats. Since the dissonance coincides with the name of the vice 'discordia', we might question whether the composer is as inept at composition as he is clever in conceiving a counterpoint that underscores the literal meaning of this sin. Mimetic musical imitation is, as we noted earlier, a hallmark of Renaissance music, when one often encounters, for example, a rising musical line on a word such as 'ascend'.[47] But even this archetype of word painting seems to be foreshadowed in the *Floret* motet, where the triplum prominently ascends a melodic sixth on the word *exultacio* (mm. 52–5).[48] Perhaps, then, the banned intervals of a second (mm. 17, 33, 86) and a diminished fifth (m. 67) on four of the words that represent the sins in this piece are rare instances of deliberate compositional wrong-doing,[49]

46 'The Emergence of *Ars Nova*', pp. 302–3; see also Sanders's remarks in 'The Early Motets', pp. 29–31.

47 Instances of musical rhetoric in Monteverdi's *Cruda Amarilli* and Heinrich Schütz's *Saul* are discussed by J. P. Burkholder in 'Rule-Breaking as a Rhetorical Sign', in *Festa Musicologica: Essays in Honor of George J. Buelow*, ed. T. J. Mathiesen and B. V. Rivera, Festschrift Series 14 (Stuyvesant, 1995), pp. 369–89.

48 This voice also forms the dissonance of a second with the motetus (on the word *impediunt*) and tenor in m. 53.

49 In his study of the contemporaneous *Inflammatus* motet, which will be discussed below, Wulf Arlt provides a classic example of medieval number symbolism that is relevant here. In this work, the thirty pieces of silver that betrayed Christ are mentioned precisely on the thirtieth breve of the composition; see W. Arlt, '*Triginta denariis* – Musik und Text in einer Motette des *Roman de Fauvel* über dem Tenor *Victimae paschali laudes*', in *Pax et sapientia: Studies in Text and Music of Liturgical Tropes and Sequences in Memory of Gordon Anderson*, ed. R. Jacobsson, Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis, Studia Latina Stockholmiensia 29 (Stockholm, 1986), pp. 97–113. For further discussion of this and other expressive functions of medieval music, see Stevens, *Words and Music*, pp. 14–47, 399–409.

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suggested by the unique, highly exaggerated text of the *Floret* triplum, with its rapid-fire declaration of the deadly sins. Although it would be unwise to push these speculations further, it does seem that analyzing the *Floret* motet solely from the point of view of an evolutionary musical style, in which teleological progress in compositional technique is assumed from one piece to the next, runs the risk of ignoring the potent effect of the theology of the sins that is so conspicuous here.

With its striking features, the *Floret* triplum comes as close to 'sung theology' as we are likely to find in the medieval corpus. The act of listening to or singing the triplum would help a person memorize not only the seven deadly sins themselves, but also their numerous offspring: seven for vainglory, five for envy, six each for anger, sloth and avarice, five for gluttony and eight for lechery. Just as the progeny of Fauvel and Vain Glory in the *Roman de Fauvel* defile France, so these fifty sins, recited in quick succession in the *Floret* motet, contribute to the sordid sonic atmosphere that the poet/composer of the motet wishes to project.

As appropriate as the *Floret* motet would have been for the *Roman de Fauvel*, this piece was never included in the interpolated manuscript Paris fr. 146, nor does it appear in any of the other extant versions of *Fauvel*.[50] Instead, a reworked version of the triplum alone, the monophonic prose *Carnalitas luxuria*, appears in *Fauvel* (Text 8.2).[51] Clark and others suggest several reasons why a monophonic poem might have been more desirable than a three-voice motet at this point in the text. They focus on the *mise-en-page* of this section of *Fauvel*, noting that only a monophonic work would fit into this cramped spot in Paris fr. 146. Vainglory is no longer the first sin in *Carnalitas luxuria*, as it was in the *Floret* motet. Instead, the sin of lechery is named first in *Carnalitas*, as Clark speculates, because this vice is the subject of the *Fauvel* poem at this particular moment. Following lechery comes a procession of the other sins, consisting of envy, anger, sloth, avarice and gluttony, all in the same order and having almost the same text and music as the original motet triplum. Vainglory now brings up the rear.

The abridgment of the *Floret* motet and the rearrangement of its triplum in the monophonic *Carnalitas luxuria* may have another purpose as well. In the *Floret* motet, as we have seen, the composer was able to enunciate the deadly sins relatively easily within the confines of the three-voice texture of this piece by simply aligning the texts carefully. Nonetheless the musical list of the seven sins and their daughters is even more audible if one simply performs the motet triplum by itself. To herald the sins seems to be the point of *Carnalitas luxuria*:

50 M. Bent has suggested that the motet was in fact meant to form part of the poem; 'Fauvel and Marigny: Which Came First?', in *Fauvel Studies*, ed. Bent and Wathey, p. 46.

51 *Le roman de Fauvel*, ed. Roesner, Avril and Regalado, fol. 12r. Dahnk first spelled out the connection between the two pieces in *L'hérésie de Fauvel*, pp. 74–7; see also Sanders, 'The Early Motets', pp. 24, 31–6.

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Text 8.2. Prose *Carnalitas luxuria* from the *Roman de Fauvel*
(text from Clark, 'The Flowering of Charnalité', pp. 183–4; translation in ibid., pp. 185–6)

Carnalitas LUXURIA
In favelli palacio
Presunt et inconstantia
Cum hiis mundana fictio
Cecitas horror. Occia
Ebriositas passio

Post procedit INVIDIA
In prosperis Afflictio
[Detractio] et odia
Nocens que susurratio
De proximi iniuria
Ioconda exultacio

IRA hinc contumelia
Exit et indignatio
Clamor rixe blasphemia
Mentis turget inflacio

Non longe sunt ACCIDIA
Falax mentis vagatio
Malicia pigricia
Rancor et desperacio

Assistit AVARITIA
Fallacia prodicio
Inequitas pariuria
Fraus cordis obduracio

Post GULA inmundicia
Sensus habet in gremio
Scurilitas leticia
Vana cum multiloquio

In fine VANA GLORIA
Visu Fortune previo
Iungitur matrimonio
Cum fauvello cui Nuncia
Vox sit datur commissio
De adventus nequicia
Antichristi. Ve nuncio
Vane glorie filia
Ypocrisis. Contencio
Hic Inobediencia
Pertinencie captio
Iactantia. Discordia
Vanitatum presumpcio
Sponsam ducunt per devia
Cadant in precipicio.

we hear the names of each of these courtiers of Fauvel without interference from other musical lines. Once again, the expected progression of musical development from the simple to the more complex seems purposely thwarted, as a strident, monophonic declamation of the sins in *Carnalitas luxuria* is chosen for Paris fr. 146 in preference to the earlier polyphonic exposition in the *Floret* motet.

Immediately following *Carnalitas luxuria* in the *Roman de Fauvel* is the motet *Facilius a nobis* / *Alieni boni* / Tenor *Imperfecte canite* (Text 8.3).[52] Unlike the *Floret* motet, this work takes an exegetical approach to a single sin, envy. The move from a recitation of all the sins to the focus on a single one illustrates the dependence of the *Roman de Fauvel* on the theological tradition, as well as the

52 *Le roman de Fauvel*, ed. Roesner, Avril and Regalado, fol. 13r; Dahnk, *L'hérésie de Fauvel*, pp. 77–9. The motet is edited in *The Roman de Fauvel, The Works of Philippe de Vitry, French Cycles of the Ordinarium Missae*, ed. L. Schrade, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century 1 (Monaco, 1956), pp. 35–7 (No. 18).

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Text 8.3. Motet *Facilius a nobis/Alieni boni/Imperfecte canite* from the *Roman de Fauvel*

TRIPLUM

Facilius a nobis vitatur	Envy is more easily avoided
invidia, si bene noscatur.	by us, if it is well known.
Nam mundi sunt intersignia:	For among its signs in the world are these:
vultus minax, tremor per labia,	threatening visage, trembling lips,
tortus visus, palor in facie,	twisted appearance, pale face,
stridens dentes, verba demencia.	strident teeth, raving words.
Calamitas sine remedio	It is calamity without relief
est habere felicem odio.	to have happiness in hatred.
In altero virtutem celare,	To conceal virtue in another,
id est, illam odio fuscare.	that is, to darken it with hatred.
Si te livor ad iram provocet,	If envy provokes you to anger,
tibi magis quam alteri nocet.	she will harm you much more than another.
O quam malum bonis detrahere	O how evil detracts from good
absenciumque graciam rodere!	and gnaws at the grace of those who are not present!
Nam propheta dicit: persequebar	For the prophet says: I pursued
detrahentem et non revertebar.	the detractor and did not turn back.*

MOTETUS

Alieni boni invidia	Envy of another's good,
summi pium auctorem saucia;	wound the pious author of the highest;
quia unde sapiens proficit,	Because what the wise man can do
inde homo invidus deficit.	that the envious man lacks.
De bonorum lapsibus emuli	Rivals [take pleasure] in the failings of the good,
gratulantur in malis seduli.	the zealous rejoice in [their] bad fortune.
Nulla virtus est que non habeat	No virtue is there that does not have
contrarium zelum, ut pereat.	an opposite impulse: that it might perish.
Solummodo hoc bonum possidet,	[Envy] possesses this one good trait:
quia nemo misero invidet.	that no one envies the wretched.
Diaboli membra sunt mundi	The members of the world are devils
cuius mores secuntur lividi.	whose mores the envious follow.
Sapiens fert, zelo diaboli	The wise [person] carries on; by zeal of the Devil
introvit mors in orbem soli.	has death entered into the world.

TENOR

Imperfecte canite	Sing imperfectly.

* II Samuel 22. 38.

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care with which Chaillou de Pesstain coordinated music, text and illustration in *Fauvel*. Just as Gregory the Great and other writers on the sins list all of them before discussing each separately, so the *Roman de Fauvel* names the entire sinful cohort of Fauvel in *Carnalitas luxuria* and then introduces them individually. Here fifteen lines of poetry on the character *Envie* in *Fauvel* are complemented by a three-voice musical treatment of *Invidia* in the *Facilius* motet.

In this composition, we are warned to watch out for Envy in her various guises (triplum), and we learn that Envy is a sin against God, introduced into the world by the devil (motetus). The narrator speaks directly to 'you' the listener ('If Envy should provoke *you* to Anger, she will harm *you* much more than another'), although he does not address Envy itself in the second person. This partial turn to direct speech seems to personalize the admonition, driving home the message about the dangers of Envy. Like the *Floret* motet, the music of the *Facilius* work is imperfectly conceived with respect to its counterpoint. We might even wonder if the tenor *Imperfecte canite* ('Sing imperfectly') reflects the composer's punning on his subject matter, although Leech-Wilkinson rightly observes that these words also denote the use of duple (imperfect) meter.[53]

Several other motets dealing with one or more of the sins can be found in the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century repertories,[54] but discussion of these pieces would add little to the picture presented so far by the *Floret* motet, its triplum contrafact *Carnalitas luxuria* and the *Facilius* motet. Two of the most prominent features of these early fourteenth-century pieces, their use of the second person and their strongly hermeneutical character, recur in a brilliant motet on the sins composed around the middle of the fourteenth century by the poet and composer Guillaume de Machaut (*c.* 1300–77).

The sins in the fourteenth-century motet: Guillaume de Machaut[55]

Machaut's music and poetry are unique in many ways, but one of his most significant contributions is his penchant for collecting and arranging his works in a specific order. Machaut's organizational activities signal a new, humanistic attitude toward writing and recording music, which heretofore had been transmitted in large manuscripts containing mostly unattributed works, organized by genre or liturgical order. We know little about the day-in, day-out process of musical composition in the Middle Ages. Composers' autograph scores from this period are unknown, and what remain are typically the deluxe sources, books produced for wealthy patrons or churches.

53 Leech-Wilkinson, 'The Emergence of *Ars Nova*', p. 291.

54 For example, the thirteenth-century motet *Veritas, arpie* / Tenor *Johanne* discusses hypocrisy, simony and other vices. Like many *ars antiqua* motets, this work is reused in *Fauvel*; see Dahnk, *L'hérésie de Fauvel*, pp. 79–80. For a list of other 'chiding works', see Sanders, 'The Early Motets', p. 33 n. 26.

55 This section draws on my book *Guillaume de Machaut and Reims: Context and Meaning in his Musical Works* (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 1–8, 79–102, 137–51.

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Machaut, however, begins to alter this paleographical and codicological landscape by creating large manuscripts containing his own works. These magnificent sources bespeak an author/composer interested in establishing and nurturing a personal literary and musical legacy. We know of his wishes from a rubric that he writes in his codices, 'Here is the order that G. de Machaut wants his book to have',[56] and he also specifies that order helps reveal meaning ('Meaning [*Scens*] is present there to rule over all').[57] Machaut's manuscripts are arranged by genre (rondeaux, virelais, ballades, narrative dits, motets and so forth), and he even provides an index to his work. This exceptional level of orderliness is unique among the works of medieval composers: no one before Machaut and no one for more than a century after him works in quite this way.[58] For these reasons, it is particularly important to pay attention to the arrangement of Machaut's compositions. Order is not simply a matter of tidiness – it holds the key to understanding.

Of Machaut's twenty-three motets, the first seventeen form a group, consisting of what seem at first glance to be largely courtly motets with French texts. The outward appearance of these pieces tells only part of the story, however, because their meaning also works on the larger level of all seventeen motets taken together. Read allegorically, these compositions form a spiritual journey, one in which the motet tenors correspond to the steps of that journey. The voyage stretches from the time when the main character, a conflated courtly lover and spiritual pilgrim, realizes his inadequacies, to the moment of his union with his adored lady/beloved savior (Christ).

The drama inherent in this cycle of secular-religious songs is obvious. Throughout the protagonist's psychological struggle, he is buffeted about from one end of the emotional spectrum to the other. His tortured wandering is reminiscent of that of other famous pilgrims of the late Middle Ages, for instance, the main characters in Guillaume Diguilleville's *pèlerinage* poems. In addition, Machaut's journey has a particular shape: it is symmetrically organized around a central composition, Motet 9 (*Fons tocius* / *O livoris feritas* / Tenor *Fera pessima*), which discusses Pride and Envy (Text 8.4).[59] It is no accident

56 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France MS fr. 1584 (better known as Machaut MS *A*), fol. A: 'Vesci l'ordenance que G. de machau wet qu'il ait en son livre'.

57 Guillaume de Machaut, *Prologue*, in *The Fountain of Love (La fonteinne amoureuse) and Two Other Love Vision Poems*, ed. and trans. R. B. Palmer, Garland Library of Medieval Literature Series A 54 (New York, 1993), pp. 16–17 (line 273): 'Car Scens ['Meaning'] y est qui tout gouverne'. On meaning in Machaut's music, see Robertson, *Guillaume de Machaut and Reims*, pp. 4–6.

58 The principal Italian source of music from the late fourteenth century, known as the Squarcialupi Codex, organizes music by composer and even includes a portrait of each at the beginning of the section containing his works. This is not the result of actions taken by any of the composers included in the anthology, however, but the work of later scribes/compilers. The manuscript is published in facsimile edition in *Il codice Squarcialupi: Ms. Mediceo Palatino 87, Biblioteca laurenziana di Firenze* (Firenze, 1992).

59 Because the ordering of Machaut's musical works is so reliable, scholars refer to them by their numerical place within each genre. Hence, I will use the term 'Motet

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that Machaut features these two deadly sins at this point. Like the journey into and out of pavement labyrinths in the great cathedrals of the time, Machaut's voyage is structured so that the protagonist encounters the sins at the precise center of his odyssey. In the triplum, Pride is equated with the Devil himself (Lucifer), whose overweening ambition led to his downfall.[60]

Motet 9 is the most old-fashioned of Machaut's seventeen motets, written in a rhythmic meter that was typically found earlier in the fourteenth century. This older meter has an interesting effect in the piece: it allows the triplum to move slightly more quickly than in Machaut's other motets, rendering its words a bit more distinguishable. The triplum of Motet 9, then, works similarly to that of the *Floret* piece in that it achieves a somewhat higher level of intelligibility than that found elsewhere in Machaut's polytextual oeuvre.[61]

The relatively clear text declamation in the triplum of Motet 9 is considerably enhanced by its structure, for unlike Machaut's sixteen other motets, Motet 9 begins with a solo entrance.[62] This *introitus* simplifies matters aurally, and visually for those who saw the score, in comparison with the surrounding motets.[63] This introductory phrase makes it immediately apparent that the subject of Motet 9 is Pride, the mother of all sin ('Font of all pride, / Lucifer and all evil, / You who, with a marvelous beauty / Endowed. . .'). The motetus ('O savageness of envy'), beginning fourteen measures later, literally grows out of the triplum. Indeed, its subject, Envy, emerges from the womb of the prideful triplum, just as Pride gives birth to Envy in medieval theological writings. Machaut's juxtaposition of the triplum and motetus texts within a musical polyphony that symbolically suggests their theological relationship is one of the memorable features of this motet. Here music emulates and bolsters theological exposition in a way that transforms teaching from a largely visual to an intensely aural experience. Because all previous motets in Machaut's cycle of seventeen have been in French, the linguistic turn to Latin in Motet 9 is likewise remarkable.[64] In Motet 9 we resort to the language of the Bible, of medieval exegesis and of exorcism. Didactic as well as entertaining aspects of this motet are thus on full display.

9' for the piece under discussion. Motet 9 is edited in *The Roman de Fauvel . . .* , ed. Schrade, pp. 137–40 (No. 9); the music of the beginning of the piece is also given in Robertson, *Guillaume de Machaut and Reims*, p. 145.

60 Robertson, *Guillaume de Machaut and Reims*, pp. 168–73. On the theology of the labyrinth, see C. Wright, *The Maze and the Warrior: Symbols in Architecture, Theology, and Music* (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 73–100.

61 Robertson, *Guillaume de Machaut and Reims*, p. 183.

62 For discussion of the solo entrances in Machaut's motets, see ibid., pp. 5, 71, 146, 190, 192–4, 278–9, 281, 371.

63 Listening to the adjacent Motets 8 and 10 in Machaut's series along with Motet 9 shows just how clear the declamation of the opening of the latter is. All three pieces can be heard in the recording on the ECM label: Guillaume de Machaut, *Motets*, The Hilliard Ensemble (Munich, 2004).

64 Two of the subsequent motets (nos. 12 and 17) have Latin in the middle voice, and all but two motets (nos. 11 and 16) have Latin tenors.

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Text 8.4. Machaut's Motet 9
(text and translation from Robertson, *Guillaume de Machaut and Reims*, pp. 307–8)

TRIPLUM

Fons totius superbie, Lucifer, et nequicie, Qui, mirabili specie Decoratus,	Font of all pride, Lucifer, and all evil, You who, with a marvelous beauty Endowed,
Eras in summis locatus, Super thronos sublimatus, Draco ferus antiquatus Qui dicere,	Had been set on high, Raised above the thrones, You who the old fierce dragon Are called,
Ausus es sedem ponere Aquilone et gerere Te similem in opere Altissimo.	You dared to set up your seat In the North and to conduct Yourself in your doings similarly To the Most High:
Tuo sed est in proximo Fastui ferocissimo A judice justissimo Obviatum.	But soon was Your most ferocious pride By the Most Just Judge Resisted.
Tuum nam aufert primatum; Ad abyssos cito stratum Te vidisti per peccatum De supernis.	For he took away your primacy; You saw yourself, for your sin, To the abyss swiftly flung down From the heights.
Ymis nunc regnas infernis; In speluncis et cavernis Penis jaces et eternis Agonibus.	Now you reign in the depths below In caves and pits You lie in punishments and eternal Agonies.
Dolus et fraus in actibus Tuis et bonis omnibus Obviare missilibus Tu niteris;	Deceit and treachery [are] in your Deeds, and with your darts You strive to Resist all good [men].
Auges quod nephas sceleris Adam penis in asperis Tenuit Stigos carceris. Sed Maria	You augment that wicked crime That kept Adam in the harsh torments Of the Stygian dungeon. But I pray that the Virgin Mary,

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Virgo, que, plena gracia,	Who, full of grace,
Sua per puerperia	By her childbearing
Illum ab hac miseria	Has freed him from this
Liberavit,	Misery,
Precor et anguis tedia	May both increase the sufferings
Augeat et supplicia	And punishments of the serpent
Et nos ducat ad gaudia	And lead us to joy,
Quos creavit.	Whom she has created.

MOTETUS

O livoris feritas,	O savageness of envy,
Que superna rogitas	You who seek the heights
Et jaces inferius!	And lie in the depths!
Cur inter nos habitas?	Why do you dwell among us?
Tua cum garrulitas	While your unceasing speech
Nos affatur dulcius,	Speaks to us the more sweetly,
Retro pungit sevius,	It stings the more savagely from behind
Ut veneno scorpius:	Like the scorpion with its poison:
Scarothis falsitas	The treachery of Iscariot
Latitat interius.	Lies hidden within.
Det mercedes Filius	May the Son of God
Dei tibi debitas!	Give you your just rewards.

TENOR

Fera pessima	Most evil beast

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Because Motet 9 differs starkly from the other pieces in Machaut's journey series, we might wonder what models he used for the piece. His other all-Latin works lie outside the cycle: two honorific Latin motets (nos. 18 and 19) date from his early period, and three larger Latin occasional motets (nos. 21–3) for four voices hail from later in his career.[65] The question of prototype may be connected to Machaut's use of drama in Motet 9. As in the *Facilius* motet from the *Roman de Fauvel*, Motet 9 employs the second person throughout both upper voices, allowing the triplum and motetus to address Pride and Envy directly. But Machaut's more frequent use of the second person makes his accusations of Envy and Pride even more pointed.

The dramatic intensity of Motet 9 is also related to the mystical inspiration that shaped Machaut's entire cycle of seventeen motets. Here his closest model was Henry Suso's *Horologium Sapientiae* (*c.* 1334), an affective work revolving around the journey of the protagonist (Disciple) to Christ, who is personified as Wisdom. At the dramatic climax of the treatise, Suso's Disciple addresses Sin directly:

> You clever little vixen! You venomous viper! This is how you dragged me after you, ensnared with these and numberless other false cozenings, to my death, just as they show a green branch to a sheep, and lead it off, happy and rejoicing, to be butchered. You 'evil beast!' You are smeared with your victim's gore! Now cruelly you bite what you so smoothly anointed. Viciously you dash to the ground what you so gently lifted up. You feign the siren's voice, but you show that you have a sting.[66]

These passionate indictments against Sin resonate with Machaut's motet text, which heaps blame specifically on Pride and Envy. The tenor of Motet 9, *Fera pessima* ('most evil beast'), based on the aforementioned responsory *Videns Jacob* for the Third Sunday in Lent, connects the piece directly to Suso's words 'You "evil beast!"' The affectiveness of Suso's monument of mystical writing spills inexorably into the climactic motet of Machaut's song cycle.

Another work from *Fauvel*, the motet *Inflammatus invidia* / *Sicut de lingo parvulus* / Tenor *Victime paschali laudes*,[67] may also have served as a touchstone for Machaut's discussion of Envy in Motet 9. In the *Inflammatus* piece, the triplum takes an exegetical approach to the discussion of Envy, mentioning the murder of Abel, the sale of Joseph by his brothers and Judas' analogous betrayal of

65 On these groups of works, see Robertson, *Guillaume de Machaut and Reims*, pp. 53–75, 189–223, respectively.

66 See the translation of Suso's *Horologium*, in *Wisdom's Watch upon the Hours*, trans. E. Colledge, The Fathers of the Church, Mediaeval Continuation 4 (Washington, DC, 1994), pp. 93–4. For the Latin text, see *Horologium Sapientiae* 1.4, ed. P. Künzle, Spicilegium Friburgense, Texte zur Geschichte des kirchlichen Lebens 23 (Freiburg, 1977), p. 398.

67 The motet is edited in *The Roman de Fauvel*, ed. Schrade, pp. 43–4 (no. 23). See also Arlt, '*Triginta denariis*'.

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Christ for thirty pieces of silver as biblical ciphers for Envy.[68] The motetus employs the metaphors of fire and burning to describe the consuming effects of Envy. Machaut's Motet 9 likewise uses biblical, patristic and medieval allusions extensively, and both works employ serpentine images for the concept of sin, along with discussion of trickery and deceit. Motet 9, however, intensifies the focus on the sins, in comparison with the language of all of Machaut's preceding motets, by its use of the second person throughout. Its unremitting accusations of Pride and Envy also surpass the intensity of the narrated parade of vices found in the *Floret* motet and the near-contrafact of its triplum *Carnalitas luxuria* from *Fauvel*.

The decline of the sins in fifteenth-century music

We have seen that the presence of all or even most of the seven deadly sins in a musical composition is rare, and that the diminutive size of this repertory sharply distinguishes the discipline of music from those of theology and art, where hamartiological exposition is an ongoing preoccupation through the end of the Middle Ages. The few musical settings of the sins that have survived seem to have been composed in response to dramatic textual stimuli. These works comprise conductus and motets that condemn authority, as well as a song cycle of motets that delineates a passionate journey motif. Their dramatic settings function both as entertainment and as teaching. The Gregorian ordering of the sins is preferred in their texts, when a formal arrangement can be detected at all, but the demands of the poetry often override the explicit connection of the text with a particular theologian.

Perhaps surprisingly, composers lose their zeal for setting the sins in music at the end of the Middle Ages. In part, the rejection of this theme occurs because the age of the great romances, satires and *pèlerinages* with musical interpolation is on the decline. Taste in musical subjects changes in the fifteenth century, leaning away from things political, ecclesiastical and moral, and toward themes centered on Christ, the Virgin Mary and the saints. This transformation in musical predilection speaks ultimately to the impractical nature of music on the deadly sins, the cultivation of which interested composers only as long as informal clerical music-making and interest in interpolation in dramatic medieval poetry were the dominant modes of expression.

This shift happens largely because of the sea change in the support-structure of music of the fifteenth century. Wealthy patrons of the day clamored for penitential manuals, sermons, art and sculpture that brought a new, humanistic emphasis to the depiction of the deadly sins,[69] but they did not have texts on the

68 Machaut's motetus likewise names the treacherous 'Iscariot'.

69 For a recent study of late medieval art on the sins in the painting of Hieronymus Bosch, see L. D. Gelfand, 'Social Status and Sin: Reading Bosch's Prado *Seven Deadly Sins and Four Last Things* Painting', in *Seven Deadly Sins*, pp. 229–56.

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sins set to music, to judge from the extant repertory. Instead, patrons subsidized patently practical music that was dedicated to holy intercessors. This music would be performed during their lives and after their deaths to provide for the safe passage of their souls through Purgatory. Likewise, fifteenth-century composers, now employed mainly in the churches and courts of Western Europe, needed to generate music for the professional choirs that flourished in the major centers. Composers produced hundreds of sacred polyphonic masses, antiphons and motets for pious endowments and special occasions that included the dedications of cathedrals and the extolling of cities.[70] None of these contexts favored musical works whose subject was sin.

At least one motet on Envy does survive into the fifteenth century. But this work, the three-voice motet *O livor anxie* / *Inter amenitatis* / Tenor *Revertenti*, was not new:[71] it had appeared in two-voice form in the *Roman de Fauvel*,[72] placed immediately before the *Inflammatus* motet, which also deals with Envy. Whereas such stragglers from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries do exist,[73] creative thinking on music and the deadly sins seems to have all but ceased. Rare moralistic compositions such as the motet *Fama malum* by Josquin des Prez (*c.* 1450/1455–1521), based on a text from Virgil's *Aeneid*, discuss slander and other similar topics, but the use of the seven sins *per se* in music was virtually forgotten.[74]

Curiously, in the late fifteenth century, music itself was sometimes viewed as sinful. A modest, but notable, backlash against polyphony in a few European cities reflects a chronic anxiety about the very nature of polyphonic music and its suitability for the Church. This fear was almost as old as Christianity itself: Saint Augustine worried about the dangers of liturgical music that was created to enhance praise, but that was unavoidably and

70 For a discussion of these honorific motets, see M. Allsen, 'Style and Intertextuality in the Isorhythmic Motet, 1400–1440' (unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1992); and J. Cumming, *The Motet in the Age of Dufay* (Cambridge, 1999).

71 Trento, Castello del Buonconsiglio, Monumenti e collezioni provinciale MS 1374 (formerly 87), fols. 231v–232r; facsimile published in *Codex Tridentinus 87[-93]*, 7 vols. (Rome, 1969–70). Trent 87, along with the other important musical manuscripts from this library, can now be viewed online: http://www1.trentinocultura.net/portal/server.pt?open=514&objID=22652&mode=2 (accessed 5 January 2012).

72 *Le Roman de Fauvel*, ed. Roesner, Avril and Regalado, fol. 21v; Dahnk, *L'hérésie de Fauvel*, pp. 104–5.

73 A poetic remnant written in the same vein as Philip the Chancellor's *Veritas equitas* is the English *Virtues Exiled – Vices Enthroned*, published in *Religious Lyrics of the XVth Century*, ed. C. Brown (Oxford, 1939), p. 269.

74 My thanks to Alejandro Planchart for signaling the Josquin work to me. The sins reappear from time to time in later music. In the twentieth century, for instance, music by Kurt Weill, Jacob Druckman, William Albright and others shows a renewed interest in the sins as a subject of musical expression. Here, however, the impulse may be less one of innovation than of a desire to evoke the medieval mindset or recall a neo-Gothic allusion.

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even dangerously pleasurable.[75] In the fourteenth century, John Wyclif spoke out about the evils of elaborate polyphony, saying it could 'stir vain men to dancing more than to mornynge, & here-fore ben many proude & lecherous lorelis [scoundrels]'.[76] Although his criticism of music did not reverberate as deeply as his diatribes on theology, by the end of the fifteenth century, as Rob Wegman has shown, officials in the cities of Görlitz, Breslau and even Florence expressed similar concerns.[77] They complained that the simultaneously sung melodies and rhythms of polyphony had become overly complex and fussy; that the sacred words that music was supposed to enhance, but not overshadow, were being lost; and that too much effort was expended in the act of performing challenging compositions for the Church. Importantly for our purposes, they declared that those advocating use of this music were guilty of pride, vainglory and vanity. Some elders even called for a return to monophonic singing. In this climate of close scrutiny on the very art and function of Church music, the focus of the attack was on the potential sinfulness of the art-form itself.

And yet, the critics' concerns ultimately proved parochial and short-lived. In this, the great age of choral masterpieces, polyphonic singing in the church of course did not decline. With the demise of musical disquisitions on the deadly sins came a large body of music which, through its concentration on the Savior, the Virgin and holy men and women, battled sin in a different way. Settings of polyphonic masses, antiphons and motets began to incorporate musical symbols that could express theological ideas. The three fifteenth-century masses (polyphonic settings of the Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus and Agnus Dei) and antiphon *Salve regina* based on the famous *Caput* theme, for instance, symbolized the defeat of the dragon (the *caput draconis*) that was the very personification of Sin.[78] In these *Caput* works, the head of the fiend is trodden symbolically through specific musical processes that represent the crushing of the dragon's head through the lowering or truncating of the melody that refers to the beast. Although conceptually analogous to the *Fera pessima* ('most evil beast') of Machaut's motet tenor, the *Caput* theme has now been transformed from a series of words set to music into a musical process – a symbol comprised of notes standing for the idea of sin itself. Musical symbols carried a distinct advantage: they could be manipulated as the composer wished. This musical 'iconography' spread widely throughout Western

75 See the famous passage on music from his *Confessiones*, in *Source Readings in Music History*, ed. Strunk, rev. edn Treitler, pp. 132–3.

76 John Wyclif, *The English Works of Wyclif, Hitherto Unprinted*, ed. F. D. Matthew, EETS OS 74 (London, 1880; reprint Millwood, 1975), pp. 191–2; as cited in R. C. Wegman, *The Crisis of Music in Early Modern Europe, 1470–1530* (New York, 2005), pp. 21–2.

77 Wegman, *The Crisis of Music*, pp. 1–48.

78 See A. W. Robertson, 'The Savior, the Woman, and the Head of the Dragon in the Caput Masses and Motet', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 59 (2006), 537–630.

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Europe in the late fifteenth century. And as symbolic music flourished, it was no longer necessary to sing the names of each of the sins aloud in order to keep them at bay. Now they could be vanquished through the sheer artistry of musical technique.

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CHAPTER NINE

The Religion of the Mountain: Handling Sin in Dante's *Purgatorio*

Peter S. Hawkins, Yale University

Among the most incisive medieval treatments of the seven deadly sins is Dante's *Purgatorio*, where each terrace of the poet's seven-story mountain entails a painful confrontation with one of the vices (ordered according to Gregory the Great) and a gradual transformation into a corresponding virtue. Whereas *Inferno* depicts the punishment of acts, *Purgatorio* addresses the disposition toward evil that remains a stain and a burden even when the soul can no longer sin. Scholars have found partial precedents in Mechtild of Hackeborn, William Peraldus and Conrad of Saxony. Yet the overall effect is entirely new, with Dante's emphasis on the role of art and worship in the process of turning from vice to virtue. Rather than being a time-bound penitentiary, the 'middle kingdom' is shown to be a hospital for the healing of brokenness, a school for learning truth, an incubator in which worms become butterflies and a conservatory where penitents learn to sing the Lord's song together.

Morton Bloomfield's magisterial study of *The Seven Deadly Sins*, published in 1952, closes with the sad reflection that Spenser's *Faerie Queene* marks the end of a venerable literary line. To him, the great moral and imaginative concept reaching back more than a millennium to Evagrius Ponticus, John Cassian and Gregory the Great was effectively over and done by the late sixteenth century: 'The *tradition* of the Sins was dead; they no longer evolved; they no longer inspired great writing.'[1]

Such a valediction seemed confirmed at the Stanford University Humanities Library when I went to photocopy the chapter of Bloomfield's book that contains precisely this plangent obituary. There, above the copy machines, was a playful series of framed woodcuts called 'The Seven Deadly Sins of Book Care'. Each one presented an allegorical figure of Pride, Envy and the rest of the sins, together with appropriate lines from Book One of the *Faerie Queene*. Along with this evocation of the glorious past was a sevenfold warning to

1 Bloomfield, *Sins*, p. 240.

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those using the library today. Take, for instance, the finger wagged at photocopiers who might well be guilty of Avarice:

> And yes it's true
> There are a few
> Who in their greed
> For knowledge
> Will break a spine
> Upon the glass
> And turn a fine book
> Into trash.

No one could ever mistake this doggerel for the 'great writing' that used to be inspired by the seven deadly sins, the works of Dante, Chaucer, Gower, Langland and Spenser. Was I encountering the handwriting on the library wall, proof that when the tradition was invoked today it would inevitably be undercut by irony and foolishness? Bloomfield's final footnote strikes an elegiac tone, noting that the seven sins now show up only in throwaway culture, in 'movie advertisements and literary contests' (442).[2] He then rests his case with a shrug of despair: the final footnote closes with the phrase 'Autre temps, autre moeurs' rather than with the Ciceronian *o tempora, o mores*. Not with a bang but a whimper.

The trivialization that the rueful scholar detected back in 1952 is omnipresent today. Even minutes spent searching the internet will produce hundreds of thousands of opportunities to be instructed on the Seven Deadly Sins of *Whatever*: interviewing, web-writing, copy-editing, dating, chocolate, science-fiction writing, emailing, being a student (or a professor), making a Power Point presentation or choosing a bathing suit. The low point may well have been struck on television in April 2005 with Tyra Banks's *America's Next Top Model*. Seven finalists were each given one of the deadly sins as a fashion assignment and told to strike an appropriately provocative pose for the camera – in a coffin

[2] Ibid., p. 442 n. 265. Bloomfield prints a poem by one S. J. Sharpless that appeared in the *New Statesman and Nation* on 5 July 1947:

> Seven deadly sins of old the Good Life tried to fix,
> Freud stood surety for *Lust*, then there were six;
> Six deadly sins danced a brisk, satanic jive,
> Strachey banished *Gluttony*, then there were five;
> Five deadly sins pursued their soul-seducing war,
> *Covetousness*? Good for business. Then there were four;
> Four deadly sins bestrode the world with devilish glee,
> *Envy*? – whom? – there's no one left. Then there were three;
> Three deadly sins planned what evil they should do,
> *Sloth*? It's lack of vitamins. Then there were two;
> Two deadly sins enjoyed a spot of fiendish fun,
> The dollar loan abolished *Pride*, then there was one;
> One deadly sin – by Beelzebub! The last,
> *Anger*'s simply gland secretion. Sinner – danger's passed!

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that had been lowered into the ground.[3]

Yet what I also found after a little library searching further suggests that Bloomfield might be heartened by the number of works inspired by the concept he believed to be virtually defunct. In fact, since 1952, writers such as W. H. Auden, John Updike, Thomas Pynchon and Wendy Wasserstein have meditated on the seven sins in collections of short essays published in the early 1960s, the early 1990s, and most recently in a series of books published by Oxford University Press. There are numerous musical compositions, including a cycle of songs by Kurt Weill later choreographed by Georges Balanchine; a suite of poems by Anthony Hecht illustrated by Leonard Baskin and set to music by Robert Beaser; a collection of plays by Pierre Meunier; a suite of paintings by Mario Donizetti; and David Fincher's haunting 1995 film, *Se7en*. Michael Malone's rollicking 1982 novel *Handling Sin*, with its nod to Robert Mannyng's early fourteenth-century penitential manual of the same name, shows how a controlled romp through all of the sins can lead to grace abounding. Furthermore, since the turn of the new millennium, it has been common for preachers, psychologists and cultural critics to use the concept of the seven deadly sins to comment, often mordantly, on the way we live now.[4] Christopher Ricks also resorts to them to organize his 2003 study of *Dylan's Vision of Sin*, so useful do they prove in unlocking the preoccupations of the poet-singer's long career. Finally, in March 2007, a rock opera premiered at the Boston Conservatory Theater – *Heaven and Hell: The Fantastical Temptation of the 7 Deadly Sins* – that presents a vision of the vices successively competing for the allegiance of an Everyman.[5] Once one starts noticing them, the sins are everywhere, not only trivialized but also in serious works of literature and art.

But why? What remains compelling about this list of human frailties, this syllabus of errors? After all, large segments of First World culture have dropped the concept of sin altogether, and with it jettisoned the notion of an afterlife destination that depends on whether one has succumbed or repented. Nonetheless, I suspect that the reason for their ongoing appeal is similar to what it

3 My thanks to Elizabeth Quinn Churchill for alerting me to this 'Top Model' phenomenon, as well as to a 2007 Verizon advertisement which employed depictions of the seven deadly sins.

4 Among them are J. J. Medina's *The Genetic Inferno: Inside the Seven Deadly Sins* (Cambridge, 2000) and D. Savage's *Skipping towards Gomorrah: The Seven Deadly Sins and the Pursuit of Happiness in America* (New York, 2002).

5 '"[This work] looks at the light and dark sides of the sins, in a way that I think has particular currency", said Jason Slavick, who is directing the show. "It tears open the skin of contemporary society, exposing the seething entrails of our own vices. And it is also very funny."' W. Henderson, 'Temptation waits between Heaven and Hell', *In Newsweekly* (14 March 2007), A1, A15 (p. A15). In the playbill, Slavick says that 'the real question' posed by the show is 'when sloshing thigh-deep in these Sins, with the opportunity to plunge deeper or climb out, what do we do? In the face of greed, neglect, deceit, hatred and violence, how do we respond? . . . We are responsible for our actions, for the redemption of Humanity lies not in some vast Heaven, but in our small hands.'

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was in the beginning: the seven deadly sins have the virtue of shorthand. They are brief, concise, memorable and manageable. It may well be, as Flannery O'Connor put it, that evil is not a problem to be solved but a mystery to be endured;[6] yet attempting to solve anything, evil included, is infinitely more attractive than enduring it. Also, almost everyone loves to make a list, and a list of sins is no exception: it makes evil seem finite, controllable and therefore gives a sense (however false) of security. A simple roster suggests that what is wrong with us can be known, briefly summed up and, in the case of the seven deadly sins, dealt with according to a number that still has a powerful hold on our imagination. Seven remains 'lucky', even for those who do not know that, according to Christian tradition, there were seven days of Creation, seven gifts of the Spirit, seven Beatitudes, seven petitions in the Our Father and seven virtues (both natural and 'infused') to counterbalance the sevenfold vices.[7]

Of course, the traditional list gives us *capital* sins, the vanguards of transgression that in their turn increase, multiply and subdivide. Each one gives birth to many others, no matter whether the position of *capo di tutti capi* is accorded to pride, cupidity or avarice, as has been variously the case.[8]

The traditional metaphors for the vices all demonstrate their propensity to metastasize: the single tree sprouts many branches, leaves and fruit; the armed forces of sin boast regiments, battalions, armaments. Needless to say, they can also be represented one by one. A given animal can signify a given sin; so too can a particular pestilence. Envy is a dog *and* leprosy; anger a leopard and madness; lust a hog and fever. The sheer aggregate is monstrous, and no doubt meant to be so.[9] Yet to be able to name the beasts that hold us in their grip – to see the entire lethal tree, the whole army – is also the first step toward breaking free of their collective power.

The systematic breaking free of sin's power – by isolating one instrument of the devil from another, by naming names – began early on in the monastery with Evagrius (d. 399) and John Cassian (d. 435); it was then given greater diffusion by Gregory the Great (d. 604). Once the Fourth Lateran Council

6 'The Catholic Novelist in the Protestant South', in *Mystery and Manners: Occasional Prose*, ed. S. Fitzgerald and R. Fitzgerald (New York, 1969), p. 209.

7 On the 'power of the number seven', as well as the 'triumph' of the list of seven, see Casagrande and Vecchio, *Vizi*, pp. 181–224.

8 For different hierarchies of the vices and various estimations of the 'queen' of them all, see E. Moore, 'Classifications of Sins in the *Inferno* and *Purgatorio*', in *Studies in Dante*, 2nd series (Oxford, 1899), pp. 152–209; Bloomfield, *Sins*, pp. 69–104; C. Straw in 'Gregory, Cassian, and the Cardinal Vices', in *Garden of Evil*, pp. 35–58; and Casagrande and Vecchio, *Vizi*, pp. 202–17. A. Morgan explores the historical development of the 'classification of sin', looks at the way sin and vice are 'handled' in the popular vision literature and draws comparisons with Dante's practice in the *Commedia* in *Dante and the Medieval Other World* (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 108–33.

9 For the metaphors associated with the vices – the tree, the battle, various kinds of pestilence, particular animals, the seven-headed beast of the biblical Apocalypse (12. 3 and 13. 1), demons, the ladder – see Newhauser, *Treatise*, pp. 156–65; Casagrande and Vecchio, *Vizi*, pp. 184–90.

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(1215) made annual oral confession mandatory, what had long been the preoccupation of monks and nuns became everyone's obligation. The result was a profusion of manuals intended to help not only confessor and penitent but also the preacher, who brought the secret exchange of the confessional into the public arena of the liturgy.[10] The seven deadly sins provided a systematic approach. As Carla Casagrande and Silvana Vecchio write, 'A single uninterrupted discourse winds its way from the pulpit to the confessional, offering images, definitions and classifications that make accessible and familiar the most technical moral discourse even for the general public'.[11]

Dante's *Commedia*, while neither a penitential manual nor a sermon, nonetheless had both sin and the general public in mind. According to a letter of Dante to his patron, Can Grande della Scala, the poem was literally an exploration of the state of the soul after death; allegorically, its subject was the human being itself, each person endowed with a will that was free to choose the rewards or the punishments of justice. The poem's purpose was 'to remove those living in this life from the state of misery and lead them to the state of happiness'; its branch of philosophy was ethics, 'conceived for the sake of practical results, not for the sake of speculation'.[12]

This, at least, is the way Dante articulated his project in a Latin epistle sent to the military man who had subsidized both him and his work over the years, and in language meant to cut to the chase. Let it be understood, the *Commedia* was meant to *do* something. To accomplish his practical philosophy[13] for as large an audience as possible, Dante wrote not in Latin but in a Florentine vernacular that he subsequently made illustrious. He took a lowbrow, outmoded genre – the vision of the afterlife – and grafted it onto the epitome of highbrow, Virgil's *Aeneid*.

Other texts made their contribution. Augustine's *Confessions* offered him a venerable model for spiritual autobiography: the backward glance of the older, wiser self who recalls the erring ways that led him eventually to God. Much closer to hand was Brunetto Latini's mid-thirteenth-century vernacular poem, *Il tesoretto*, whose author-narrator recounts an allegorical journey culminating in a

10 For a survey of modern scholarship on the topic, see the essays collected in *Handling Sin: Confession in the Middle Ages*, ed. P. Biller and A. J. Minnis (York, 1998), esp. pp. 23–32 of the introduction by P. Biller.

11 Casagrande and Vecchio, *Vizi*, p. 197: 'Un unico ininterrotto discorso si snoda dal pulpito al confessionale, riproponendo immagini, definizioni e classificazioni che rendono accessibili e consueti anche per il grosso pubblico i tecnicismi del discorso morale.'

12 In *Dantis Alagherii Epistolae: The Letters of Dante*, ed. and trans. P. Toynbee, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1966), pp. 177–8 (Latin), 201–2 (English): 'removere viventes in hac vita de statu miseriae, et perducere ad statum felicitatis' (Para. 15); 'Genus philosophiae sub quo hic in toto et parte proceditur est morale negotium, sive ethica; quia non ad speculandum, sed ad opus inventum est totum et pars' (Para. 16).

13 Letter to Can Grande, Para. 16, in *Dantis Alagherii Epistolae*, ed. and trans. Toynbee, pp. 178–9 [Latin], 202 [English]: 'non est gratia speculativi negotii, sed gratia operis' ('not for the sake of speculation, but for a practical purpose').

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confession of sin. So salutary was that experience that Brunetto ends by advising his readers to rush to their confessors in order to follow his own good example. Before doing so, however, they should undergo the systematic self-examination that he then sets forth. Over the course of more than 300 seven-syllable couplets he takes the reader through the seven deadly sins in the order devised by Gregory the Great and followed by Hugh of St-Victor (d. 1141) and Bonaventure (d. 1274): pride, envy, anger, *acedia* (sloth), avarice, gluttony, lust. Ingenious reasons are offered to demonstrate how one sin grows naturally out of another.[14]

All of these works are about handling sin, whether it is projected into the afterlife or discovered in oneself 'nel mezzo del cammin di nostra vita'.[15] Dante begins his own exploration in the *Inferno*, where the wages of free will are eternal death and the reader is asked to imagine what might happen to him or her but for the grace of God. Following Aristotle and Cicero (but twice, in the circles of Limbo and heresy, answering solely to the dictates of his own imagination), he gives us the slippery slope of damnation in Hell's inverted funnel. Guided by Virgil, the pilgrim moves through three distinct concentric landscapes. Descending into ever new reaches of depravity, he meets a succession of the damned, their lives given over to sins of the appetite, will and intellect. At the bottom of this structure, frozen in a black hole, stands Satan.

How the fallen angel of light ended up down *there* – and how his fall simultaneously created Hell's pit and the mountain of Purgatory – is recounted in the last canto of the *Inferno*. We learn that when Satan was expelled from Heaven for refusing to worship God, he plummeted to earth, plunged through its surface at the Antarctic pole, and buried himself at the dead center of the universe. In that tumble from spirit to flesh, he became the grotesque nightmare familiar from medieval art. Upon impact, the dry land that once covered the southern hemisphere fled to the north. The land at the core of the earth then shrank from Satan's presence, creating the pit of Hell surrounding his giant body; earth also thrust upward into what had become the watery expanse at the southern pole – like an erupting volcano. The result was a mountain 'which rises highest from the sea' (*Paradiso* 26.139).

With Eden planted at its peak, the mountain became the birthplace of humanity; after Adam and Eve's sin, an uninhabited world forbidden to mortals. With the redemption of Christ, however, its steep slopes and garden summit again took on life. Flesh and blood were not permitted to return there; instead, the mountain became a Purgatory where the penitent souls of the dead might work

14 In 'Classifications of Sins', p. 198, Moore writes, 'After showing how Pride leads to Envy and Envy to Anger, [Brunetto] says in line 145, "In ira nasce e posa / *Accidia* 'niquitosa", i.e. Anger leads on to guilty *Accidia*, and this comes about in this rather far-fetched way. The Passionate man is so completely possessed and overpowered by Anger, that he does not attend Mass, and omits to say his prayers, public and private, and so ends by complete indifference to God and religion.'

15 *Inferno* 1.1, in *The Divine Comedy of Dante Alighieri: A Verse Translation*, trans. A. Mandelbaum, 3 vols. (Berkeley, 1980–2), I, 3. All quotations from *The Divine Comedy* in Italian are from this text.

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their way up its slopes, expiate their sins and be born again into virtue.[16] By first drinking of Eden's river Lethe (which Dante took from *Aeneid* 6), and then by immersion in the waters of Eunöe (a stream that flows entirely out of Dante's fancy), they forget the bad and remember the good. From this earthly paradise they then make their way to the white rose of the City of God.

At the very center of *Inferno*'s thirty-fourth canto, Dante and Virgil complete their descent into Hell by crawling along the hairy flank of the imprisoned Satan. Midway down his body they turn themselves around and start climbing upward, along a narrow passageway that will lead them to the shores of a mountain. Looking back from this new orientation, the pilgrim sees that Satan is absurdly upside down. From this perspective, we realize that everything in Hell is topsy-turvy. Purgatory will be all about putting things aright.

Mirror oppositions between the two realms abound. The pilgrim descends into Hell, moving to the sinister left; he climbs the Mountain of Purgatory always according to the right hand. The journey-taker in Hell moves from the sins of the flesh, to those of the will and the intellect as he goes from bad to worst, from faculties we share with beasts to those that are unique to rational beings. Conversely, the pilgrim in Purgatory encounters first the most grievous disorders – those of the intellect – before passing on to those of the will and the flesh. Whereas the gravitational pull of Hell is strongest at the bottom, Dante finds himself almost in flight as he approaches Purgatory's summit.

It is customary to speak alternatively of the seven *peccati* or *vizi capitali*, and yet when we come to the *Purgatorio* we are no longer in a realm of sin but rather of vices.[17] While *Inferno* depicts the punishment of acts – the besetting evil of a

16 J. Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, trans. A. Goldhammer (Chicago, 1984), tells the story of the 'invention of Purgatory' in the Middle Ages and the particular contribution of the poet of the *Purgatorio*: 'Dante's extraordinary work makes a vast symphony out of the fragmentary themes whose history I have attempted to trace' (p. 334). Morgan, in *Dante and the Medieval Other World*, does a more incisive job, however, in establishing what Dante owes to others and where he is most truly inventive.

17 M. Cogan, *The Design in the Wax: The Structure of the 'Divine Comedy' and Its Meaning* (Notre Dame, 1999), p. 85, draws the distinction 'between sin, as an action of a certain sort, and vice, as a state of character. Sins (*peccata* in Latin; *peccati* in Italian) such as we find in Hell are dealt with by Dante (as would be so understood in medieval ethical discussions) as concrete individual actions . . . On the other hand, what are commonly called in English the seven deadly sins, which we find as the divisions of Purgatory, are hardly sins at all; they are vices. Even medieval discussions occasionally use the terms *peccatum* and *vitium* interchangeably, but in both the first explicit and codified appearances of these seven and in later discussions, these seven are always initially described as vices.' He goes on demonstrate (ibid., p. 99) that 'the capital vices that are the subject of the *Purgatorio* are the dispositions of the same appetitive powers [i.e., the concupiscible, the irascible and intellectual] whose completed sinful operations provided the organization of the *Inferno*'. Cogan also claims (ibid., p. 104) that Dante's distribution of the vices to the appetites – 'his association of pride and envy to the will, of anger and sloth to the irascible appetite, and of avarice, gluttony and lust to the concupiscible appetite' – is a unique contribution to this discourse.

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lifetime frozen, at death, for all eternity – Purgatory addresses the disposition toward evil that once led to sinful acts and that remains as a stain even after it is no longer possible to sin. Vice is a residue that must be dissolved before the soul can see God 'face to face': the slate must be wiped clean. Whereas sin in Hell is static, and the sinner held forever in the act, vice in Purgatory is a blur of erasure, a trace on the verge of disappearance.

As the penitents work their way arduously along the upward-sloping terraces of the Mountain they are partly suffering the consequences of a lifetime. Their pain, however, must be understood as the pangs of their rebirth, the passage from Then to Now. A glorious end to their suffering is always in sight, for they know that they are liberating themselves not only *from* the grip of sinfulness but *for* the beatitude that awaits them. As Virgil says of Dante, 'libertà va cercando' (*Purgatorio* 1.71); that is, he goes on his way seeking freedom. After a lifetime of shadows, the penitent souls ascend toward the light.

Light, in fact, is the first thing we notice in Purgatory. Dante's arrival is just before dawn, when the planet Venus is said to make the whole east 'smile' (1.20). From this first moment onward, his journey takes place (or bides its time) *en plein air*. The pilgrim's path will be illumined during the day by a sun that rises and sets in great beauty; yet at night, when the sun is 'silent',[18] there is a brilliant recompense in luminous planets and constellations. Freed from the claustrophobia of Hell, we find ourselves not only newly risen from the grave but part of a cosmological pull toward the heavens that keeps drawing the penitents 'up'.

All of this would have immediately startled Dante's medieval readers, who typically thought of Purgatory as subterranean, ghastly and identical to Hell in its horrors save only that one day torment came to an end.[19] It was an antechamber to Hell, where the soul would pay its debt of venial sin with agony

18 We are told in *Inferno* 1.60 that when Dante is lost in the dark wood the sun is silent. This provides yet another sign that the pilgrim has lost the true way and entered instead into a realm of darkness. In Purgatory, no one can move forward on the Mountain without the light of the sun. Night provides the occasion for spiritual rest and prayer without ceasing. Its dangers are a thing of the mortal past. (Cf. the singing of the *Te lucis ante terminum* at the opening of *Purgatorio* 8).

19 One thinks of the 'insight' into Purgatory given by the ghost of Hamlet's father. It is so terrifying a reality that he cannot describe it to his son – the ineffably awful:

> But that I am forbid
> To tell the secrets of my prison-house
> I could a tale unfold whose lightest word
> Would harrow up thy soul, freeze thy young blood,
> Make thy two eyes, like stars, start from their spheres,
> Thy knotted and combined locks to part
> And each particular hair to stand on end,
> Like quills upon the fretful porpentine:
> But this eternal blazon must not be
> To ears of flesh and blood. (I.v.13–22)

The Tragedy of Hamlet, The Prince of Denmark, ed. B. Mowat and P. Werstine, The New Folger Library (New York, 1992).

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and burn off the residue of evil. Penitents were expected to serve an appropriate sentence whose length depended on the gravity of past sins and the extent of sin's tenacious hold. Yet it was also true that those in a state of grace on earth could speed their loved ones along the way by means of performing 'suffrages' – prayer, intercessory Masses, acts of corporal mercy, exercises in virtue. One could be helped by the good behavior of *other* people.

Dante accepted these basic theological premises but completely altered the atmosphere of Purgatory and the primacy traditionally given to its suffering. It was easy for him to be creatively independent with the middle kingdom since in 1300 it was still largely *terra incognita*. As Jacques Le Goff has argued, it took until the end of the twelfth century for vague talk about the 'fires' or 'pains' of purgation, which was as old as Tertullian and Augustine, to give way to discussion of a specific *purgatorium*. Furthermore, it remained territory 'up for grabs'; it awaited the imagination's Gold Rush to turn it into something vital and compelling. We can see this first happening in the *Vision of Thurkill* (*c*. 1206), which not only set forth an autonomous realm alongside Hell and Heaven but called it a *purgatorium*.[20] Penitent souls are plunged first in a lake of fire and then in a lake of ice before they move along a bridge that takes them to the Mountain of Joy. One looks in vain here, however, for any systematic presentation of vices or their corresponding virtues. That would remain for Dante's visionary journey.

Where, then, did the poet find his inspiration? The search for *Purgatorio* precedents led Morton Bloomfield to Mechtild of Hackeborn (d. 1298), although without the assumption that Dante actually knew her work. Mechtild claims in her *Revelations* that Jesus brought her to a purgatorial mountain divided into seven levels, each with a fountain, in which the penitents could wash away their vices and take on the corresponding virtue. At Jesus's invitation, Mechtild arrives at the first step and plunges herself in the waters of humility, leaving behind her pride; on the second step, in the fountain of meekness, she loses her anger; on the third, in the fountain of love, she is freed of hate and envy.[21]

A more likely source for Dante's systematic treatment of sin and vice (together with the distinction between the act of sin and the inclination of vice) is William Peraldus's (*c*. 1250) *Summa virtutum ac vitiorum*. This manual had a wide circulation, as evidenced by over 800 extant manuscripts and countless allusions; it served as a model for pastoral literature in the late Middle Ages.[22] Peraldus

20 See Morgan, 'The Mountain of Purgatory', in her *Dante and the Medieval Other World*, pp. 144–65, and her analysis of Thurkill (ibid., pp. 124–6, 155–6).

21 Bloomfield, *Sins*, p. 158.

22 According to S. Wenzel, 'The Continuing Life of William of Peraldus's *Summa vitiorum*', in *Ad litteram: Authoritative Texts and their Medieval Readers*, ed. M. D. Jordan and K. Emery, Jr, Notre Dame Conferences in Medieval Studies 3 (Notre Dame, IN, 1992), pp. 135–63 (p. 136), 'In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries both *summae* [of vices and virtues] could be found in practically any major library all over Europe, whether monastic or secular or eventually lay, often even in multiple copies'. See also Newhauser, *Treatise*, pp. 127–30.

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devotes the second book of his treatise to confession, which he structures entirely around the seven capital vices and the additional category of *peccatum linguae*. Their potency is demonstrated by the fact that the seven capital vices spawn more than 120 distinct individual sins. He also forges a one-on-one relationship between the seven vices and their corresponding virtues, which was subsequently to blossom in the visual arts into elaborate comparison-contrasts *in malo* and *in bono*: the symmetry of flesh versus spirit, bad tree versus good, army of vice over against army of virtue. William's cultural reference is surprisingly wide. Biblical citations appear alongside quotations not only from the Church Fathers but from such pagan authorities as Ovid, Horace and Seneca.[23] Perhaps most significant for *dantisti*, he presents the idea that disordered love is the source of the seven capital vices, the key to their understanding. Thus, lust is an excessive love of touching (*quae secundum tactum est*), and avarice an inordinate love of money (*inordinatus amor pecuniae*).[24]

If Dante found in Peraldus a correspondence of vice and virtue – virtue as the antidote to the poison, the cure for the illness – he may also have gained from Conrad of Saxony (d. 1279) the notion that Mary personally represents the victory of the one over the other. According to Conrad's *Speculum Beatae Virginis Mariae*, the Virgin was immune from the seven deadly sins and radiant in her sevenfold instantiation of goodness. She lived humbly in opposition to pride; her gentleness dispelled anger.[25] In this vein, Dante makes Mary the primary exemplum of virtue on every Terrace of the Mountain, so that the process of purgation becomes an imitation of Mary as much as it is an *imitatio Christi*.[26]

23 Bloomfield speaks of Peraldus's 'worthy originality' in the use of exempla and narrative; *Sins*, pp. 124–5 (p. 125).

24 According to Morgan, *Dante and the Medieval Other World*, p. 132, '[William's] *Summa* is far from displaying the coherence later to be shown in the *Comedy*; but it undoubtedly offers an approach to the confession of sin which in many ways foreshadows Dante's description of purgation in the other world. The Purgatory is innovatory in that it creates both a geography for the third realm of the other world and a systematic approach to the purgation of sin, neither of which are fully present in the previous representations of the afterlife.' On Peraldus and Dante, see S. Wenzel, 'Dante's Rationale for the Seven Deadly Sins (*Purgatorio* XVII)', *Modern Language Review* 10 (1965), 529–33. A fuller account is given by F. Mancini, 'Un' *auctoritas* di Dante', *Studi danteschi* 45 (1968), 95–119. See also Casagrande and Vecchio, *Vizi*, pp. 198–200.

25 Conrad of Saxony, *Speculum seu salutario Beatae Mariae Virginis ac Sermones Mariani*, *lectio* 4, ed. P. de Alcantara Martinez (Grottaferrata, 1975), pp. 203–4: 'Ipsa enim est Maria, quae et omni vitio caruit et omni virtute claruit. Ipsa, inquam, est Maria, quae a septem vitiis capitalibus fuit immunissima et virtutibus eis contrariis fuit munitissima: Maria enim contra superbiam profundissima per humilitatem; Maria contra invidiam affectuosissima per charitatem; Maria contra ira mansuetissima per lenitatem; Maria contra accidiam indefessissima per sedulitatem; Maria contra avaritiam tenuissima per sobrietatem; Maria contra luxuriam castissima per virginitatem fuit.' For the importance of Conrad to Dante, see M. Gragnolati, *Experiencing the Afterlife: Soul and Body in Dante and Medieval Culture* (Notre Dame, IN, 2005), pp. 124–7.

26 Gragnolati, *Experiencing the Afterlife*, p. 126, argues that: 'It is because of Mary's conformity and similarity with Christ – even in her appearance, her face is the one

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Whatever Dante may have discovered in these earlier texts does little to explain the novelty, not to mention the moral and aesthetic achievement, of his *Purgatorio*. He not only gives the middle kingdom a vivid geographical specificity but relates it both to Hell, its mirror image, and to Heaven, its sequel. He divides his mountain into three discrete sections, the first of which, an Ante-Purgatory, seems to have been another of his inventions. Here at the base of the Mountain he gathers souls not yet ready to begin the hard climb: those who repented only in the last desperate moment of their lives; those who, through sloth, barely repented at all; and those who were so preoccupied with worldly governance that they neglected to prepare themselves for the life to come.

The seven Terraces, each devoted to one of the *vizi capitali* in the order laid down by Gregory and followed by Brunetto Latini, constitute Purgatory proper: pride, envy, wrath, acedia or sloth, avarice, gluttony, lust. The Terraces lie just inside a massive gateway, with its angel guardian and elaborate entry rite that involves the inscription on the pilgrim's forehead of seven *P*'s. Each is a sign of the residue of a *peccatum* that penance is meant to erase – the gradual cleansing of the penitent who presents himself as a 'marked man'. Once within the Gate, repentance begins in earnest with painful self-confrontation and arduous acts of contrition. Yet as the poet counsels his readers on the first of the Terraces, the whole point of the process is not pain but gain: 'Don't dwell upon the form of punishment', he says, 'consider what comes after that' (10.109–10).

The 'that' on which we are not meant to dwell is a variety of penitential ordeals: the heavy burdens borne on the shoulders of the proud (cantos 10–12), the sewn-up eyes of the envious (13–14), the corridor of purifying fire through which the lustful make their way in (astonishingly *equal*) groups of what we would now call heterosexuals and homosexuals (26).[27] To see each penance enacted, moreover, is to foresee its eventual termination. The proud will cast off their dead weights; the envious will see; the lustful will step out of the fire and into the Edenic garden that blooms on the other side of the 'cammino acceso' (burning road, 26.28).

Rather than being a penitentiary, in other words, Purgatory is a hospital for the healing of brokenness; a school for the learning of truth; an incubator in which worms grow up to be butterflies; a conservatory where soloists become a

that resembles Christ the most (*Paradiso* xxxii.85–6: 'la faccia che a Cristo/più si somiglia') – that Dante contrasts her to the seven capital sins and makes her the first *exemplum* of all the Terraces of Purgatory. Like Christ, Mary is the model of extreme love and generosity, and her prominence in the *Purgatorio* shows that Dante considers her the best *exemplum* of closeness to Christ.' For Mary as the embodiment of the Beatitudes, see A. Chiavacci-Leonardi, 'Le beatudini e la struttura poetica del *Purgatorio*', *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana* 161 (1984), 1–29 (pp. 20–9).

27 See J. Pequigney, 'Sodomy in Dante's *Inferno* and *Purgatorio*', *Representations* 36 (1991), 22–42; J. Boswell, 'Dante and the Sodomites', *Dante Studies* 112 (1994), 63–76; P. S. Hawkins, 'Tough Love: Dante and the Sodomites', *Yale Review* 92.3 (2004), 55–67.

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chorus, and speakers develop a use for 'we' and 'our' in addition to 'I' and 'mine'. Life 'sentences' are not served here; instead, lives are rewritten. Other analogies, however anachronistic, also spring to mind. Purgatory is a naturalization center where refugees from the *civitas terrena* learn how to become citizens of the City of God. Or to put it another way, the whole experience of the Mountain can be likened to psychoanalysis, where the analysand painfully unties the knots of the past so as to live more freely in an unencumbered future. Vices are *cured*.

If Hell is all about repetition-compulsion, an endless replay of the sinner's 'song of myself', then Purgatory, by contrast, is dynamic, a zone of change and transformation. It concerns the rebirth of a self free at last to be interested in other souls and other things; it is all about renewal. As we read in the canticle's closing lines, where the pilgrim emerges from the waters of Lethe and Eunöe to realize what his purgatorial sojourn has meant:

> Io ritornai da la santissima onda
> rifatto sì come piante novelle
> rinovellate di novella fronda,
> puro e disposto a salire a le stelle. (*Purgatorio* 33.142–5)

(I came forth from the most holy waves, renovated even as new trees renewed with new foliage, pure and ready to ascend to the stars.)

What the souls in Purgatory have in common – no matter how ill-prepared they may have been at their time of death, no matter the extent to which they are still works in progress – is their final turn toward God. *Self*-involvement is essentially what Dante understands sin to be, a destructive narcissism whose impulse is to erase the Other in order to secure one's own 'divine right'. Every compartment of Hell is full of fresh examples. In the course of moving through *Inferno*, moreover, we also see that solipsism is never a victimless crime. Rather, it is always social in its effect: a private kiss can bring down a kingdom; a single counterfeiter, debase a currency.

The opposite is true as well. We learn in *Purgatorio* that virtue can open up locked doors, can bring a new understanding of life that amounts to a reinvention of the status quo. Provenzan Salvani, Tuscany's most arrogant grandee, set himself up as a beggar in the Campo of Siena, 'to free / his friend from suffering in Charles's prison, / humbling himself, he trembled in each vein' (11.136–8). What but love could have led such a person to 'set aside all shame' and prize someone other than himself?

The key to all of Purgatory is love, as Virgil explains in *Purgatorio* 17 at the *Commedia*'s midpoint.[28] Here, as suggested above, Dante may owe a debt to Peraldus: the Terraces of his Mountain are about the redress of disordered love, with vice paired with virtue as the penitent moves from the grip of the

[28] The classic essay is by C. Singleton, 'The Poet's Number at the Center', *Modern Language Notes* 80.1 (1965), 1–10.

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one to the freedom of the other.[29] Along the seven Terraces, the most grievous sins are clustered lower on the Mountain, where alienation from love is most apparent. (Arrogance, and its twin vainglory, is considered more deleterious than lust, for instance.) Those sins closer to the top represent a mistaken or excessive desire, which once led souls to pursue a lesser good with the zeal that should have been reserved for God. Food was misused, creature comforts made too much of, sex pursued in ways that were excessive or compulsive. The journey up the Mountain, therefore, deals first with the disorders of the higher faculties before turning to those associated with the flesh.

On each of the Terraces, a particular failure in love is suffered, rectified and transformed into a virtue that corresponds to the vice. The proud, for example, suffer the heavy burden of their egos, which are represented by the rock under which each one is bowed. Their punishment is to carry this increasingly oppressive and false 'persona' until they can willingly let go of it. When they are able to do so, they stand tall – which is to say, stand humbly – free of what they mistakenly thought to be their true self. Thus, the imprisonment of the vice is transformed into the freedom of the virtue. The self-important worm becomes the angelic butterfly, the 'angelica farfalla' (*Purgatorio* 10.125) it was always meant to be.

How quickly this liberation takes place depends on the individual soul and the assistance he or she is given within the communion of saints. The Church calculated time in Purgatory as a sentence measured out in years and even days. One served one's time and then was freed. Dante also avails himself of this concept on occasion. The Silver-Age Latin poet Statius, for instance, tells us in *Purgatorio* 22 that he spent five centuries 'working' on prodigality before tackling his sin of sloth for an additional four hundred years. Yet the overall spirit of the *Purgatorio* does not emphasize the calculation of years-to-be-spent. We understand that the proud are released from their burdensome egos not so much in answer to an external clock as in response to their own maturation. They will 'terminate', to recall the analogy of psychoanalysis, when their spiritual work, their conversion of virtue into vice, is complete. When that time arrives, the Mountain shakes with joy as the other penitents sing out '*Gloria in excelsis Deo*', as indeed they do for Statius when he 'has done' with sloth (20.124–8).

The specific presentation of both vices and virtues takes a wide variety of forms depending on the situation of the penitents: there are pictures to see, voices to hear or interior visions to contemplate. Nor is this artfulness divorced from art itself. Indeed, one of the most striking features of the second canticle is the poet's demonstration that art can play a significant role in the transformative process of salvation. Featured first and foremost is the master craftsman of heaven and earth, God, who is ultimately responsible for the pictures we view

[29] On Virgil's presentation of the Terraces, and their transition from vice to virtue, as pertaining to love, see Moore, 'Classifications of Sins', pp. 204–8 and 'Table II', p. 209, and Cogan, *Design in the Wax*, pp. 119–26.

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and the dramas we watch. For instance, in the 'waiting room' at the base of the Mountain, just outside the Gate of Purgatory, those preparing to begin their ascent are shown a pageant of their redemption every evening, as two sword-wielding angels repel a harmless version of the Original Serpent (8.19–39). More drama follows in the mountaintop Garden of Eden. Throughout canto 29 Dante watches an allegorical procession of the Bible's books, and then, in canto 32, a tableau vivant of St Paul's theology of the Old and New Adam. This in turn is followed immediately by a phantasmagoric reprise of the beleaguered history of the Church that takes up where the Apocalypse of John the Divine leaves off.

At both the beginning and end of *Purgatorio,* therefore, God offers dramatic artistic representations that reform and renew the minds of the penitents. But the Almighty is not only a playwright and director, for there are other kinds of art to be found along the way: narrative pictures that seem to come to life, visions or soundscapes that appear and disappear on the Terraces, each with its corresponding pairs of virtue and vice, each offering the opportunity not only to learn but to marvel and enjoy. First the penitents encounter some representation of virtue, the spur to their future development; then they experience an exemplary vice, which serves as a bridle and restraint. The aim is didactic, the experience enchanting.

In canto 10, for example, those on the Terrace of Pride are humbled by looking at murals incised upon the Mountain's side – works of astonishing realism that appear 'more real' than nature itself (10.31–3). Praising God as a sculptor without equal, these intaglios or engravings demonstrate that true humility has nothing to do with self-abasement. For what the penitents see are pictures of spiritual heroism: the Virgin Mary's bravery when she dared say Yes to the angel's annunciation and thereby brought Heaven down to earth; the joyous self-forgetfulness of a naked King David dancing for sheer joy before the Ark of the Lord; and the Emperor Trajan's generosity when, on his way to war, he agreed to do justice for an insignificant widow.

Conversely, in canto 12, when the penitents look down upon the pavement of the Terrace, they see the exemplary images of pride caught in various moments of self-destruction. 'Just as the stones in a church floor over the buried dead bear the figure of what they were before' (12.16–17), the poet tells us, we see case by case how the mighty have fallen: Lucifer first of all, the Titans, King Saul, Queen Niobe and 'folle Aragne' (mad Arachne) already half-metamorphosed into a spider, miserably impaled upon the web-work that brought about her own ruin (12.43–5). These hyper-realistic representations, 'where the dead seemed dead, and the living, alive' (12.67), are trampled under foot as the souls make their way again and again around the Terrace.

Once art assists the souls in their spiritual transformation, ritual completes the process, for Dante's Purgatory is as much a prolonged liturgy as it is a 'multiplex' of theater, art gallery and concert hall. Newly chastened, unencumbered by false notions of importance, the once-proud souls discover the erasure of pride's mark from their foreheads and hear the appropriate Beatitude, in this

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instance, 'Blessed are the poor in spirit': '"*Beati pauperes spiritu*" was sung / so sweetly – it can not be told in words' (12.110–11).

The Beatitudes are chanted on each Terrace, as are other prayers, hymns and psalms, such as the *Miserere*, the *Te lucis ante terminum*, the *Salve regina*. But the Beatitudes have a quite particular role to play: they are recollections of Jesus's Sermon on *another* mountain, indications of the virtues that have been acquired along the purgatorial way, and foretastes of life in the heavenly city that is the pilgrim's destination. 'Blessed are the poor in spirit', the angel sings, omitting the corollary, 'for theirs is the kingdom of Heaven'. All corollaries are left unvoiced on the Mountain, yet each is embodied in the person of the penitent now entering into a new stage of beatitude. The angel sings the versicle, the penitent *is* the response.[30]

The most spectacular instance of such a transformation occurs in *Purgatorio* 20 when Statius, after more than a millennium of repentance, crosses over. The Mountain shakes violently, and a cry goes up on all sides: '*Gloria in excelsis Deo*' – as from the angels at Christ's Nativity. This combination of earthquake and '*Gloria*' serves to bring together the extremities of the Savior's earthly life: his birth and his death join in a single reprise of redemption. Furthermore, they do so precisely at the very moment, as Statius tells Virgil and Dante in the next canto, 'quando alcuna anima monda / sentesi, sì che surga o che si mova / per salir sù' ('when some soul feels itself to be pure, so that it can rise or set out for the ascent', 21.58–60). Such 'special effects' are all part of what Statius calls 'la religïone / de la montagna' (21.41–2). In Dante, earth science is theology and the realms of flesh and spirit unite in a process of sanctification. When a soul feels itself liberated from the hold of vice, it is empowered by the 'libera volontà di miglior soglia' ('the free volition for a better threshold', 21.69). The Mountain trembles with joy, and there is nowhere for the penitent to go but 'up'.

It is telling that Statius's breakthrough occurs on the brink of his impassioned tribute to Virgil, when he confesses that his life had been turned around by the words Virgil wrote. Reading the Polydorus story in *Aeneid* 3 taught him a lesson about avarice and prodigality that saved him from ending up in the corresponding circle of *Inferno*. And because Virgil's fourth *Eclogue* was so richly consonant with the Christian story – 'The ages are renewed; Justice returns and the first age of man, and a new progeny from heaven' – he was able to take seriously the 'new preachers' of the Gospel when they preached the Incarnation. Virgil's poem, Statius says, removed the covering – 'il coperchio' (*Purgatorio* 22.94), the slab of a sarcophagus – 'che m'ascondeva quanto bene io dico' ('that hid from me the great good of which I speak', 22.95). Virgil's poem, that is, rolled away the stone, opened the door and enabled Statius to become

30 On the role of the Beatitudes, see Cogan, *Design in the Wax*, pp. 94–6, 124–6; P. Boyde, *Human Vices and Human Worth in Dante's 'Comedy'* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 108–11; V. S. Benfell III, '"Blessed are they that hunger after justice": From Vice to Beatitude in Dante's *Purgatorio*', in *Seven Deadly Sins*, pp. 185–206; and Chiavacci-Leonardi, 'Le beatudini'.

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a penitent on his way to God. For anyone with the 'mind of Christ', pagan texts can yield the Gospel truth. All it takes is eyes that see, ears that hear.

Statius's homage to Virgil, of course, is none other than Dante's own. It is also part of a canticle-long appreciation of the role of the arts in the experience of conversion. *Purgatorio*, in fact, is full to overflowing with artists (and especially poets) who are either encountered directly – Casella, Sordello, Oderisi da Gubbio, Forese Donati, Bonagiunta da Lucca, Guido Guinizelli, Arnaut Daniel and Statius – or are only spoken about: Franco Bolognese, Cimabue, Giotto, Guittone d'Arezzo, Giacomo da Lentini, not to mention a cohort of virtuous pagans known to Virgil in Limbo. These pagan *illustri* come both from the Latin world (e.g., Juvenal, 'our ancient Terence', 'Caecilius and Plautus and Varius') and from the Hellenes (Euripides 'and Antiphon, Simonides, Agathon and many other Greeks who once decked their brows with laurel', 22.97–108). The effect of this massing of names and identities is to associate the process of transformation, the metamorphosis of vice into virtue, with art itself – either with those who make it or with the work that is made, which takes on a life of its own independent of the author's intentions or vision.

Again, we see this poignantly in the Statius episode. In *Aeneid* 3 Virgil wrote a cautionary tale about the cursed lust for gold that Statius (in a salvific misunderstanding of the text) took as call to provident living. In the fourth *Eclogue* he celebrated the birth of some mysterious child, who Statius (along with many others) took to be the Christ. In both cases, pagan poetry effects a life transformation, rolls away a stone and lets a glorious light shine in the darkness.

In this canticle-long celebration of artists and poets, Dante is surely making a case for his own vocation as a writer and quite specifically for his own *Commedia*. Whether or not we consider it to be a sacred poem to which Heaven as well as earth have set hand (*Paradiso* 25.1–2); whether it successfully brings anyone from a state of misery to one of happiness; whether a person is curbed in vice and spurred to virtue by scaling the Terraces, or is actually made better by learning the 'religion of the Mountain' – these are questions that only an individual reader can answer. Many have answered in the affirmative, and not only 'back in the day'. The ongoing popularity of the poem, the nonstop efforts at its translation and illustration, the film versions: all this suggests that there are those today, like the poet Charles Wright, who find that 'Dante makes you think seriously about your own life. He makes you want to *have* your own life, and to do the best you can with it.'[31] Perhaps it is enough to say in closing, *pace* Morton Bloomfield, that the tradition of the seven deadly sins, which flowered so abundantly in Dante's poem, can still be found powerfully alive in his pages – ready to lead new generations from *fleurs du mal* to the white rose of Paradise.

31 C. Wright, 'Dantino Mio', in *The Poets' Dante: Twentieth-Century Reflections*, ed. P. S. Hawkins and R. Jacoff (New York, 2001), pp. 259–64 (p. 263).

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CHAPTER TEN

John Gower's Shaping of 'The Tale of Constance' as an *Exemplum contra* Envy

Carol Jamison, Armstrong Atlantic State University

John Gower's version of the popular fourteenth-century Constance narrative appears in the *Confessio Amantis,* a framed narrative organized around a mock confession in which Venus's priest, Genius, presents narratives that comment on the seven deadly sins. Shaped as an *exemplum in bono* that presents Charity as remedy to Envy, 'The Tale of Constance' serves as effective commentary not only on Genius's discussion of Envy, but on other aspects of the sin and its remedy presented throughout Book Two. Using both Chaucer's and Trivet's versions of the same narrative as points of comparison, this essay demonstrates how Gower infuses his version with pastoral rhetoric in order to transform the figure of Constance into a representative of Charity who initiates religious conversions and forms familial bonds despite the actions of her envious enemies. Through these narrative strategies, Gower purposefully and artfully reshapes his version of the Constance narrative.

Three artists will likely approach the same subject with different artistic purposes in mind. Just so, John Gower, Nicholas Trivet and Geoffrey Chaucer take different approaches to their versions of the popular fourteenth-century narrative of the wrongly accused queen Constance.[1] Whereas Trivet's version of the story is cast as history and Chaucer's as a secular saint's life, Gower's version transforms the narrative into an *exemplum* that illustrates the virtue of Charity. A comparison of the three versions will reveal how Gower purposefully infuses

[1] All references to Trivet are from R. M. Correale's 'The Man of Law's Prologue and Tale', in *Sources and Analogues of The Canterbury Tales*, ed. R. M. Correale with M. Hamel, 2 vols., Chaucer Studies 28 and 35 (Cambridge, 2002–5), II, 277–350. I rely upon Correale's translation, as well. References to Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* are from *The Riverside Chaucer*, ed. L. D. Benson *et al.*, 3rd edn (New York, 1987). References to Gower's work are from the first volume of *The English Works of John Gower*, ed. G. C. Macaulay, 2 vols., EETS ES 81 and 82 (London, 1900–1; reprint 1969). Line numbers follow all direct quotations from these three versions of the Constance narrative. For references to 'The Parson's Tale', I cite page numbers in *The Riverside Chaucer*.

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his narrative with pastoral rhetoric. In doing so, he transforms the figure of Constance into a representative of charity who initiates religious conversions and forms familial bonds despite the actions of her envious enemies.

Trivet's 'Of the Noble Lady Constance', a richly detailed history, appears in *Les cronicles*, dedicated to the English Princess Mary of Woodstock. Presumably the source for both Chaucer and Gower, Trivet's Constance narrative is embedded deeply in *Les cronicles* and begins and ends with accounts of the establishment of Moriz, Constance's son, as Roman emperor.[2] Laura Barefield describes Trivet's use of female characters such as Constance as providing 'origins for dynasties and intercessors in the succession process'.[3] Trivet's emphasis on Constance's relationship to Moriz indicates that the purpose of his Constance narrative is historical and political: to establish a worthy bloodline for Moriz as future emperor.

Chaucer's version of the Constance tale must be considered in the context of the framed narrative of *The Canterbury Tales*, in which pilgrims from various social estates participate in a story-telling competition while traveling on pilgrimage to Canterbury. Chaucer molds the tale to fit its narrator, the Man of Law. Shaped after the tradition of the secular saint's legend, Chaucer's narrative is related in a high style well suited to the Man of Law.[4] It is characterized by elevated rhetoric, including *apostrophes* and *sententiae*, to heighten Constance's plight and to emphasize her patient suffering.

Gower's version appears in the *Confessio Amantis*, also a framed narrative, organized around a mock confession in which Venus's priest, Genius, presents narratives that comment on the seven deadly sins.[5] Edwin D. Craun describes the structure of confession within the text:

2 P. Nicholson includes a discussion of Trivet's Constance narrative within the framework of *Les cronicles*. Nicholson notes that 'It begins . . . with the relationship between Tiberius and Maurice, and with no indication for a great many lines that it is concerned with the life of the heroine' (p. 88). Nicholson's essay explores the possibility that Gower and Chaucer shared the same version of Trivet's narrative. See 'Chaucer Borrows from Gower', in *Chaucer and Gower: Difference, Mutuality, Exchange*, ed. R. F. Yeager (Victoria, British Columbia, 1991), pp. 85–99.

3 L. Barefield, 'Women's Power in the "Tale of Constance"', *Medieval Perspectives* 15 (2000), 27–34 (p. 27).

4 See M. Paull, 'The Influence of the Saint's Legend Genre in "The Man of Law's Tale"', *The Chaucer Review* 5.3 (1971), 179–84; and C. Cooper, '"But algates thereby was she understode": Translating Custance in Chaucer's "Man of Law's Tale"', *Yearbook of English Studies* 36.1 (2006), 27–38.

5 See L. Scanlon, *Narrative, Authority, and Power: The Medieval Exemplum and the Chaucerian Tradition*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature 20 (Cambridge, 1994), p. 248, where Scanlon describes the structure of Gower's work as '[disposing] its exempla according to the penitential framework of the Seven Deadly Sins and their subcategories, specifically recalling *Handlyng Synne*, a text where the penitential and sermon exemplum traditions converge'. For a discussion of Gower's reliance upon the penitentials, see also G. Kinneavy, 'Gower's *Confessio Amantis* and the Penitentials', *The Chaucer Review* 19.2 (1984), 144–61. Kinneavy believes that 'the confession device is a massive working principle in the poem' (p. 156).

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> In the *Confessio Amantis*, Genius interrogates the lover on types of sin, probing and instructing in ways dictated by *interrogationes*; the lover's confession follows the model *formae confessionis*, forms for penitents to use in making a 'complete' confession. Then Genius tells exemplary tales in order to convert the lover from his deviant practices.[6]

This confessional framing narrative melds religious with courtly material as the unhappy lover Amans is counseled by Genius, Venus's priest. Amans's responses to Genius relate the sins to his status as lover.[7]

Gower's 'Tale of Constance' appears in the second book of the *Confessio Amantis* in which Genius instructs Amans against the sin of envy. It immediately follows Amans's confession that he has engaged in detraction by defaming potential rivals to his lover. Gower's version is sparse in comparison to Trivet's and Chaucer's versions, his characters are sketchy and he provides little sense of the narrator within the tale itself. These changes are deliberate and purposeful, however, as Gower shapes the Constance narrative into an *exemplum in bono* that serves to illustrate charitable behavior, traditionally depicted in penitential treatises as a remedy for envy.[8]

Although Gower's version was most likely composed before Chaucer's version, a consideration of 'The Man of Law's Tale' is nonetheless relevant to this discussion. Also relevant is a consideration of Chaucer's own treatment of envy in 'The Parson's Tale', although, as Richard Newhauser notes, 'The Parson's Tale' 'limits use of *exempla* and other small narrative forms which could have been used to expand the penitential manual'.[9] Rather, Chaucer presents the sins as a straightforward clerical treatise in which he first describes each sin and then follows with its remedy. Despite their different approaches to illustrating the sins, both Chaucer and Gower draw on the same penitential tradition and follow the most common revised-Gregorian order in their presentation of the sins (pride, envy, wrath, spiritual sloth, avarice, gluttony, lust [or lechery]).

It is evident that Chaucer and Gower were acquainted and influenced each other's writing.[10] In fact, Chaucer makes reference to Gower, and perhaps

6 E. D. Craun, *Lies, Slander, and Obscenity in Medieval English Literature: Pastoral Rhetoric and the Deviant Speaker* (New York, 1997), p. 8.

7 In '*Confessio Amantis* and the French Tradition', in *A Companion to Gower*, ed. S. Echard (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 165–80, A. Butterfield explores how Gower borrows from the French tradition to make 'the language of confession and the language of love less incompatible than they may seem' (p. 169). Particularly, Butterfield refers to Nature's confession in *The Romance of the Rose*.

8 Gower's presentation of envy and its remedy in Book Two conforms to typical medieval treatises on the vices and virtues as R. Newhauser defines the genre in Chapter One of *Treatise*.

9 R. Newhauser, 'The Parson's Tale and its Generic Affiliations', in *Closure in The Canterbury Tales: The Role of the Parson's Tale*, ed. D. Raybin and L. T. Holley (Kalamazoo, 2000), pp. 45–76 (p. 76), reprint in Newhauser, *Sin*, essay IV.

10 A number of scholars have focused on the relationship between the two writers, including P. Nicholson, 'The Man of Law's Tale: What Chaucer Really Owed

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subtly to Gower's version of the Constance narrative, in 'The Man of Law's Prologue'. The Man of Law claims that he will not tell a tale of incest, and then names two stories about incest that were in fact told by Gower elsewhere in the *Confessio Amantis*. In early versions, the Constance narrative itself contained incest, a detail that, although omitted by Trivet, Chaucer and Gower, may have been evident to them and may explain Chaucer's reference. It is not my purpose, however, to define the relationship between the two writers or to explain the meaning behind Chaucer's reference to Gower, but rather to use both Chaucer's and Trivet's versions as points of comparison to explore Gower's transformation of the narrative.

Traditionally, scholars have compared Chaucer's and Gower's versions of the Constance narrative for the purpose of illustrating Chaucer's artistic superiority over Gower.[11] Among those whose interest is primarily Gower's version is Alexandra Hennesy Olsen, who devotes a chapter of her book *'Betwene Ernest and Game': The Literary Artistry of the Confessio Amantis* to a reconsideration of Gower's and Chaucer's versions of the Constance narrative.[12] Gower's version, though frequently deemed inferior by scholars, is, as Olsen notes, adapted 'no less carefully to its context [in Book Two] in the *Confessio*'. She adds that 'Chaucer and Gower each treat the pliant image of Constance in a way that is appropriate for inclusion in the context in which each uses it'.[13] I maintain that 'The Tale of Constance' is not only well suited to the overall scheme of the *Confessio Amantis*, but also plays against the other tales and commentary in Book Two, which deal specifically with envy.

Gower', *The Chaucer Review* 16 (1991), 153–74; J. Dean, 'Gower, Chaucer, and Rhyme Royal', *Studies in Philology* 88,3 (1991), 251–76; W. H. Juby, ''A Theves Dede': A Case of Chaucer's Borrowing from Gower', *American Notes and Queries* 1.4 (1988), 123–6; and an earlier but influential work, J. H. Fisher, *John Gower: Moral Philosopher and Friend of Chaucer* (New York, 1964).

11 See, for example, E. A. Block, 'Originality, Controlling Purpose, and Craftsmanship in Chaucer's "Man of Law's Tale"', *PMLA* 68 (1957), 572–616; and M. Schlauch, *Chaucer's Constance and Accused Queens* (New York, 1927).

12 Olsen's purpose is to revise the common notion that Chaucer was a superior writer to Gower. She focuses specifically on Gower's use of puns and *rimes equivoques* in the *Confessio Amantis*. She argues in ch. 6 of *'Betwene Ernest and Game': The Literary Artistry of the Confessio Amantis*, American University Studies, Series IV: English Language and Literature 110 (New York, 1990), that Gower deliberately avoids use of these devices in 'The Tale of Constance'. Additionally, see R. F. Yeager, 'John Gower's Images: "The Tale of Constance" and "The Man of Law's Tale"', in *Speaking Images: Essays in Honor of V. A. Kolve*, ed. R. F. Yeager and C. Morse (Asheville, 2001), pp. 525–57. Because of its emphasis on Gower, I also note here M. J. Duffell and B. Martinique, 'From Decasyllable to Pentameter: Gower's Contribution to English Metrics', *The Chaucer Review* 38.4 (2004), 383–400. Duffell and Martinique laud Gower as a metrical innovator who introduced Chaucer, and England, to regular iambic pentameter. Their essay does not refer specifically to 'The Tale of Constance', but they acknowledge that Gower's artistry and influence have long been 'overshadowed by his friend's' (p. 396).

13 Olsen, *'Betwene Ernest and Game'*, p. 96.

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In his examples of typical treatises on the vices and virtues, Richard Newhauser cites 'sadness at another's good fortune; joy at his misfortune' as prevalent features in definitions of envy.[14] Gower opens Book Two with these features, as Genius asks if Amans has ever experienced joy over another man's grief. Genius tells a story to illustrate this aspect of envy, and then proceeds to discuss and illustrate its reverse, sorrow over another man's joy. In 'The Parson's Tale', Chaucer similarly lists the first two aspects of envy as 'sorwe of oother mannes goodnesse and of his prosperitee' and 'joye of oother mannes harm' (p. 303). Both Chaucer's Parson and Gower's Genius emphasize deceptive speech as a consequence of envious feelings.[15] Chaucer describes backbiting, which he associates with speaking against one's neighbor with wicked intent. Similarly, Gower's Genius introduces the aspect of envy known as detraction and its related branch, 'malebouche', or wicked tongue. He then explains that those who speak with false tongue are similar to the 'scharnebudes kinde' (413), or dung beetle's nature. As Craun notes, with this comparison, Genius 'moves into full-blown pastoral rhetoric, making the detractor's verbal habits specific and memorable by comparing them to the actions of a dung beetle'.[16] Subsequently, Genius resumes his discussion of 'envious tales' in love's court.

Following Genius's presentation of Envy in love's court, Amans launches into a defense of his own response to the 'yonge lusty route' (461) who seek out his lover's company, confessing reluctantly that he has made disparaging remarks against his rivals' reputations in order to protect his lover's innocence. Whereas Chaucer's Parson repeatedly emphasizes that detraction is 'agayns the Hooly Goost' (p. 303), Genius and Amans apply the sin to Amans's status as an unhappy lover who, in his despair, resorts to detraction against his rivals. Amans then asks Genius for a remedy for such behavior: 'Now have ye herd touchende of this / Mi fader, in confessioun, / And therfor of Detraccioun / In love, of that I have mispoke, / Tel how ye wole it schal be wroke' (533–7). Genius responds by reminding Amans that his lover is wise and does not require protection. He then warns Amans, 'Bewar and lef thi wicke speche, / Wherof hath fallen ofte wreche / To many a man befor this time' (570–2).

'The Tale of Constance' comes next, as a lesson in charitable behavior. Whereas Chaucer's Parson offers two brief biblical examples to illustrate the 'gruchyng' (his term for the concept of 'malebouche') that stems from detraction, Gower offers the Constance narrative, a 'tale of gret entendement' (584) which features a woman who is wise and virtuous despite the envious actions

14 Newhauser, *Treatise*, p. 60.

15 In *Lies, Slander, and Obscenity in Medieval English Literature*, Craun is particularly interested in Gower's treatment of deviant speech, arguing that 'post Lateran pastoral texts on the Sins of the Tongue constituted a type of discourse to be reproduced in pastoral speech' (p. 25), and that Gower, Langland, Chaucer (through the Manciple and Parson) and the *Gawain*-poet all employ this type of discourse.

16 Craun explains that 'such disgusting figures of insects and beasts are the staple of discourse on detraction. . . The same image appears briefly in the chapter on backbiting in *The Book of Vices and Virtues*' (ibid., p. 137).

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of others. On the appropriateness of 'The Tale of Constance' as it pertains to Amans's difficulties with his lover, Patrick J. Gallacher notes: 'The divine voice that counters the detraction of Constance indicts Amans's carelessness with his rivals' reputations, and the difference between reputation and identity enacted in her life exhorts him to spiritual self-discovery.'[17] However, the Constance narrative has even broader implications in relation to the theme of Book Two. Although Genius states that the Constance tale serves to comment specifically on right behavior when one is confronted by 'malebouche', Gower's version is additionally a commentary on the other aspects of the sin presented in Book Two.

Gower's Constance narrative is followed by, and prefigures, Genius's discussion of other aspects of envy, including 'false semblant', hypocrisy and supplantation. It also prefigures the end of Book Two in which Genius offers Amans advice on how to avoid envy, setting forth charity, the 'mother of pity', as its remedy:

> For as the water of a welle
> Of fyr abateth the malice
> Riht so vertu fordoth the vice.
> Ayein Envy is Charite,
> Which is the Moder of Pite. (3170–4)

Because the tale is an *exemplum in bono*, scenes which illustrate right behavior in the face of envy and the ultimate triumph of charity are necessary to Gower's purpose. In marked contrast to Chaucer's Parson's straightforward presentation of the sins followed by their remedies, Gower artfully shapes the Constance narrative to juxtapose scenes that illustrate envy with those that exemplify charity.[18]

As Gower portrays Constance, her reactions to envy encompass all of the demonstrations of charity that, according to Richard Newhauser, typically appear in medieval treatises on vices and virtues. For example, although Constance suffers from the envious actions of others, she is 'moderate in prosperity'; despite the extremity of her misfortune, she '[refrains] from strong emotion and [does] good deeds gladly'; when wrongly accused, she '[exhibits] peacefulness among those who are wrathful and innocence among the treasonous'; and she does not 'return evil for evil', but, primarily through religious conversion and familial bonds, '[heals] evil'.[19] By focusing on these aspects of Constance's charity as the remedy for envy, Gower adapts his version of

17 P. J. Gallacher, *Love, the Word, and Mercury: A Reading of John Gower's Confessio Amantis* (Albuquerque, 1975), p. 102.

18 In his influential work on the sins, Morton Bloomfield describes Gower as 'an important figure in the story of the seven deadly sins in English literature' for his ability to treat conventional material on the sins with 'considerable artistry'. See Bloomfield, *Sins*, p. 196.

19 Newhauser defines charity in *Treatise*, p. 63.

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the Constance tale in ways that clearly distinguish it from both Trivet's and Chaucer's versions.

Another of the distinguishing features of Gower's version is its relative concision compared to Trivet's and Chaucer's versions, a feature notable in *exempla*. Peter Nicholson sums up the ways in which Gower trims Trivet's version: 'Gower reduced the number of characters, he unified the action around a smaller number of scenes, and he extracted a simple narrative from the complex chronicle of events he found in his source.'[20] Chaucer, too, strips Trivet's narrative of some details. At one point in 'The Man of Law's Tale' (when describing Constance's second wicked mother-in-law), Chaucer omits certain details found in Trivet's version, explaining that he 'List nat of the chaf, ne of the stree, / Maken so long a tale as of the corn' (701–2), but Gower seems to 'cut the chaff' even deeper, omitting or de-emphasizing those elements not relevant to an *exemplum contra* envy. Nicholson writes that Gower 'eliminated most of what was extraneous in his source, and preserved what was most apt. In cutting away, of course, he also gave shape.'[21] Olsen also notes Gower's concision and argues that he deliberately uses 'words that are "plein" and "good"' as commentary upon detraction.[22] Stylistically, Gower's Constance tale conforms to the 'middel weie' that Gower promises in the opening of the *Confessio* (17). Appropriately for a tale that warns Amans to guard his tongue, Gower is frugal with language. He chooses not to cast his version as a detail-laden history, such as Trivet's narrative, and he refrains from the rhetorical excess of Chaucer's secular saint's life. Instead, Gower employs fewer details as he crafts a pared-down version of the tale as an *exemplum* to warn Amans to guard his own tongue from envious speech.

In contrast to Gower's version, Chaucer's is melodramatic, to the point that Michael R. Paull claims that it 'verges on the bathetic'.[23] Throughout Chaucer's tale, the voice of the Man of Law is apparent, especially in the copious use of rhetorical devices that evoke pity for Constance. Winthrop Wetherbee notes the 'extreme and bizarre pathos of the Man of Law's performance', adding that Chaucer's Custance 'bathes in "pitee" at every opportunity'.[24] From the opening lines in which Custance bemoans her fate to the 'pitous joye' (1114) at the tale's end, Chaucer's Man of Law paints a pathetic version of his heroine.

20 Nicholson, 'Chaucer Borrows', p. 85.
21 Ibid., p. 90.
22 Olsen, *'Betwene Ernest and Game'*, p. 96.
23 Paull, 'The Influence', p. 180.
24 W. Wetherbee, 'Constance and the World in Chaucer', in *John Gower: Recent Readings: Papers Presented at the Meetings of the John Gower Society at the International Congress on Medieval Studies, Western Michigan University, 1983–8*, ed. R. F. Yeager, Studies in Medieval Culture 26 (Kalamazoo, 1989), pp. 65–93 (p. 75). Wetherbee argues that the excessive rhetoric in the Man of Law's version of the narrative is a reflection of the narrator's own status as a member of the rising bourgeoisie: 'His status in the social hierarchy is beyond question, but his prominence and affluence are also to a great extent a function of the needs of a changing society. Hence, he feels compelled to assert and justify them' (p. 85).

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Wetherbee argues that Gower, on the other hand, 'seems to go out of his way to avoid the pathetic'.[25] Gower consistently spares the reader copious, melodramatic interpolations, and Gower's Constance herself refrains from excessive emotion. When she does weep at one point in the tale, Gower excuses her tears, noting the extremity of her situation: 'No wonder thogh she wepte and cride' (702). In fact, Gower is so artfully clear-cut that, although the narrative fits thematically in the context of Book Two, readers are scarcely aware of a narrator at all.

True to form, Gower begins his tale straightforwardly: a worthy knight has a daughter whom 'the gods so wel apaide, / That al the wide worldes fame / Spak worschcipe of hire goode name' (594–6). In all three versions, chapmen relate Constance's virtues to a sultan who subsequently desires to marry her.[26] Both Gower and Trivet observe that Constance has business dealings with the chapmen and converts them. As Steven F. Kruger has noted, in Gower's narration 'unexpectedly, a commercial transaction is also a spiritual one: Constance buys Barbary goods and, in a simultaneous exchange, her words lead the Barbar merchants to put off old gods and take on a new faith.'[27] However, Gower omits Trivet's description of Constance's education and Trivet's detailed and political account of the marriage agreement, which includes a description of letters sent to confirm the agreement, one sent to Constance herself, who is literate in this version.

Chaucer, on the other hand, omits the business dealings and conversions, making Custance seem, as George R. Keiser describes her, 'far meeker than the active missionary worker of Trivet and Gower'.[28] Despite these omissions, Chaucer embellishes the narrative with a description of the chapmen who hear about Custance second-hand and with an account of the sultan taking counsel before determining to marry. Over one-hundred lines into Chaucer's version, his teary-eyed Custance makes her first appearance. In contrast, concerning a marriage agreement between the Romans and the Saracens, Gower simply writes, 'Thei ben on either side accorded' (624), and then Constance is sent promptly overseas. Linking her charitable behavior to conversion in the opening lines, Gower pauses only long enough to note that Constance converts the chapmen 'with hire wordes wise' (606). The chapmen subsequently inspire the sultan with an account of Constance's virtues. The sultan then proceeds 'in alle haste' (624) to arrange a marriage.

25 Ibid., p. 74.

26 As David Wallace notes, unlike in the narratives by Trivet and Gower, the merchants in Chaucer's tale 'know nothing of Custance until they arrive at Rome'. See D. Wallace, *Chaucerian Polity. Absolutist Lineages and Associational Forms in England and Italy* (Stanford, 1997), p. 185.

27 S. F. Kruger, 'Gower's Mediterranean', in *On John Gower. Essays at the Millennium*, ed. R. F. Yeager, Studies in Medieval Culture 46 (Kalamazoo, 2007), pp. 3–19 (pp. 11–12).

28 G. R. Keiser, 'The Spiritual Heroism of Chaucer's Custance', in *Chaucer's Religious Tales*, ed. C. D. Benson and E. Robertson, Chaucer Studies 15 (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 39–54.

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The first character who exemplifies envy, the sultan's mother, appears quite early in Gower's version, at the fifty-third line in the narrative, compared to the seventy-third line in Trivet and line 323 in Chaucer. In Trivet's version, her motivation against Constance is largely political, stemming from her concern that Christians have infiltrated her homeland and threaten her native religion. Trivet writes, 'Avient qe la mere le doudain qe encore vivoit . . . veaunt qe sa ley estoit ja en point d'estre destrute par Cristiens qe furent en Sarasine, s'en pensa de mal et de treson' (73–5) ('It happened that the sultan's mother, who was still living . . . seeing that her religion was already on the point of being destroyed by Christians, who were in the Saracen land, plotted evil and treason'). Similarly, Chaucer explains that her evil actions are set into motion for religious reasons, particularly her concern that her son has converted to Christianity and abandoned their native practice. She 'Espied hath hir sones pleyn entente / How he wol lete his olde sacrifices' (324–5).

The early appearance of the sultaness in Gower's version, on the other hand, emphasizes her important role as an agent of envy. Gower specifies that her plans to thwart her son's wedding are motivated by envy rather than by a sincere concern for her son's devotional practices or the replacement of her own religion:

> Envie, tho began travaile,
> In destourbance of this spousaile
> So prively that non was war. (640–2)

This sultaness is envious of her son's bride-to-be because she fears that a new member of the family will lessen her own estate: 'For myn astat schal so be lassed' (649). Specifically, Gower's sultaness exemplifies the branch of envy known as supplantation, which, Genius explains in a dialogue with Amans, occurs when one is set upon 'dignitees and benefices' (2338). It is a conventional behavior associated with envy, and the sultaness seeks to hinder Constance in order to prevent Constance from attaining status.[29] As the sultaness plots against Constance to ensure her own estate, Gower highlights her envious nature by employing such words as 'sleighte' (651), 'beguile' (651) and 'feign' (654).

Although she feels sorrow at her son's joy, the sultaness feigns happiness at Constance's arrival, telling her son, 'I am be double weie / With al myn herte glad and blithe' (656–7). The sultan is convinced that his mother is doubly joyful about his wedding, but in fact the sultaness is referring to deceit when she mentions the word 'double'. Thus, she demonstrates what Genius, at a later point in Book Two, terms 'false semblant', when one's 'semblant is most clier / Thanne is he most derk in his thoght' (1918–19). An embodiment of several branches of the sin, the sultaness brings to fruition her evil plot through 'malebouche': 'With false words that sche spak / Covine of deth behinde his bak'

29 Newhauser lists 'hindering another to attain what is his due' as a demonstration of envy: *Treatise*, p. 60.

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(675–6). Chaucer's Parson also associates deception with 'malignitee, thurgh which a man anoyeth his neighebor prively' (p. 304). Thus, both the Parson and Genius evoke a conventional feature of envy, 'slandering another in secret'.[30]

In all three versions of the Constance tale, the sultaness plans a welcoming feast for Constance as a front for a massive slaughter. For Gower, envy is clearly her motivation. He stresses that 'Hire close envie tho she spradde' (684). Neither Trivet nor Chaucer incorporates a graphic account of the ensuing slaughter. Trivet simply states that all the Christians are killed except for Constance: 'Et solenc l'ordinance de la soudane occirent touz les Cristiens madles et femeles fors soul la pucele' (91–3) ('And according to the order of the sultaness, they killed all the Christian men and women, except for the maiden'). Chaucer extends his account with an *apostrophe* but describes the slaughter itself briefly: 'The Sowdan and the Cristen everichone / Been al tohewe and stiked at the bord' (429–30). Gower's account, however, is particularly bloody, emphasizing the negative results of 'false semblant'. Both Chaucer and Trivet have her followers do the actual murder, while Gower has the sultaness, the embodiment of envy, perform the killing with her own hands:

> She slowh hem in a sodein rage
> Endlong the bord as thei be set,
> So that it myhte noght be let;
> Hire oghne Sone was noght quit. (688–91)

Gower's description of the aftermath is equally bloody; he notes that the feast 'was torned into blod: / The dish forthwith the Coppe and al / Babled thei weren overall' (697–9).

The fact that Gower's sultaness kills her own son illustrates that envy is a most unnatural sin. Perhaps Gower is anticipating the next two tales in Book Two, 'The Tale of Demetrius and Perseus' and 'The Tale of Deianira and Nessus'. The first of these tales involves fratricide, and the second the giant Nessus's unnatural lust for a human woman. In 'The Tale of Demetrius and Perseus', the envious Perseus uses 'false words whiche he feigneth' (1649) to have his own brother condemned to death. Like the sultaness, Perseus fears for his own estate and envies the power his brother, as future king, will hold over him.

In the next tale, 'The Tale of Deianira and Nessus', Nessus illustrates 'false semblant' by giving Deianira a shirt which he claims will assure her of her lover's affection. In fact, the shirt mortally burns her lover. The treachery of the sultaness prefigures Genius's advice to Amans in the introduction to 'The Tale of Deianira and Nessus' to avoid all disguises: 'Forthi, my Sone, if thou be wys, / Do no viser upon thi face' (2080–1). Like the magical shirt, the feast in 'The Tale of Constance' masks envious intentions. The unnatural lust and fratricide of the villains in these tales parallels the unnatural behavior of the sultaness in the killing of her own son at the feast.

30 Ibid.

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Following the slaughter at the feast, the sultaness sets Constance adrift, a move that Trivet describes as 'une novel tourment' (103) ('a new torture') for Constance. In her discussion of Gower's narrative, Elizabeth Allen links the heroine's rudderless ship to what she deems Constance's 'profound passivity in response to the events of her life'.[31] As Newhauser states, 'suffering in adversity' is one method for demonstrating charity.[32] However, despite the fact that Constance does not take direct action against those who commit envious crimes against her, her suffering is not passive: she reacts against envy by actively exemplifying charitable behavior despite her misfortune. Guided by charitable deeds, Constance's ship is, therefore, not rudderless, but rather contrasts with what Genius later terms 'the barge Envie stiereth /. . ../ It roweth, and wol noght arrive, / Bot let it on the wawes dryve / In gret tempeste and gret debat' (1902–7). Unlike Chaucer's Custance, whose passivity reflects her role as secular saint, the suffering of Gower's heroine not only demonstrates an aspect of charity (suffering in adversity), but also emphasizes her subsequent actions.

When Constance eventually lands in Northumbria, she is received charitably and reciprocates with charity. She establishes a close relationship with Elda, who is a chamberlain, and his wife Hermyngeld. Gower, Chaucer and Trivet all stress the pagan couple's willingness to take Constance in and the bond they form with her. Gower writes, 'Thei toke hire into felaschipe, / As thei that weren of hir glade' (742–3). In Trivet's version, the Northumbrians are impressed that Constance speaks their language and assume that she must be Germanic royalty when she responds in the Saxon tongue and identifies herself as of noble lineage. Barefield explains that Trivet's Constance 'deliberately crafts this identity – her reply causes her to be perceived as holding high status'; she 'reinvents herself as a figure who can marry the king and become the mother to his heir'.[33] The emphasis upon her noble bloodline is evidence of *franchise* and prepares Trivet's readers for the subsequent narrative of her son's role as emperor.

Gower's Constance, however, is received hospitably not because of noble bearing or intellect, but because the Northumbrians are charitable and recognize Constance's similar virtues, attributes that are crucial to Gower's forging the narrative into an *exemplum*. Earlier in the tale, Gower subsumes conversion under charity as Constance converts the pagan chapmen who visit Rome. At this point in the tale, Constance converts Hermyngeld in a display of love that is similar to the cure for envy that Chaucer's Parson emphasizes throughout his description of charity. The Parson cites love of one's neighbor as 'the medicine that casteth out the venym of Envye from mannes herte' (p. 305). Gower writes that Constance 'tawhte the creance / Unto this wif so parfitly' (754–5) that Hermyngeld is able to

31 E. Allen, 'Chaucer Answers Gower: Constance and the Trouble with Reading', *ELH* 64.3 (1997), 627–56 (p. 642).
32 Newhauser, *Treatise*, p. 63.
33 Barefield, 'Women's Power', pp. 30, 31.

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heal a blind man.[34] Upon witnessing this act of healing, Elda also converts. Thus, the bonds that Constance forms with the Northumbrians, and their subsequent conversions, serve as vivid demonstrations of charity.

For Gower, the scene following the Northumbrian conversions is significant because it juxtaposes the healing power of charity with the destructive forces of envy. Elda sets out to inform his unmarried king, Allee, about the virtuous Constance. He leaves his home in the care of a knight, whom Gower stresses he 'triste in special' (792). Trivet and Chaucer attribute this knight's evil behavior to Satan who, according to Chaucer's Man of Law, 'evere us waiteth to bigile' (792). Chaucer's treatment of evil characters as agents of the devil is particularly well suited to the genre of secular saint's legend. Here, Chaucer's Custance is confronted with yet another evil situation which she must patiently endure. This scene offers the Man of Law another opportunity to establish pathos.

However, in Gower's version, the knight's behavior reflects the first branch of envy that Genius mentions, sorrow over another man's joy. Earlier in Book Two, Genius asks Amans if he has ever been 'Sek of an other mannes hele' (15). Genius provides 'The Tale of Acis and Galatea' as an example of such behavior. Polyphemus spies Acis and Galatea making love by the sea, and he pushes the bank on them because he knows he cannot have Galatea. Similarly, the knight in 'The Tale of Constance' becomes envious when he realizes, as he rides to prepare for King Allee, that he cannot win Constance for himself. As Craun points out, his motivation may also stem from envy of Constance's higher status, since he was formerly the cherished chamberlain of the king.[35] Thus motivated by envy, he attempts to destroy her: 'his lust began tabate, / And that was love is thane hate / Of hire honour he hadde Envie' (809–11).

This knight rides back to Elda's home and willingly helps Constance and Hermyngeld prepare for King Allee's visit, showing again that 'false semblant' is a particularly dangerous aspect of envy. Later, when Hermyngeld and Constance are asleep, he sneaks into their chamber and cuts Hermyngeld's throat, placing the bloody knife strategically beneath Constance's bed. Upon Elda's arrival home, the knight 'sclaundereth there in audience / With false wordes whiche he feigneth' (864–5), blaming Constance and thus illustrating 'malebouche' (385–403). Both Gower and Chaucer emphasize the detrimental effects of slander, or 'gruchyng', according to Chaucer's Parson. Although he does not provide an *exemplum* as illustration, Chaucer's Parson explains that 'gruchyng' can lead one to 'bereth hym on hond thing that is fals' (p. 304). He then lists secretive, violent acts that stem from envy and are similar in nature to the acts of the evil knight in Gower's tale, such as 'to brennen his [neighbor's] hous pryvely, or empoysone or sleen his beestes, and semblable things' (p. 304).

In Gower's Constance narrative, the envious behavior of the deceptive knight is emphasized when he swears upon a book, presumably the Gospels,

34 As stated earlier, Newhauser cites 'healing evil' as one of the demonstrations of charitable behavior: *Treatise*, p. 63.

35 Craun, *Lies, Slander, and Obscenity in Medieval English Literature*, p. 149.

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that Constance is guilty. When a hand appears, seemingly from heaven, he is immediately smitten with such a blow that his eyes are knocked from his head. A heavenly voice then demands that he confess. He does so and immediately falls dead: he 'starf forth with his tale anon' (884). In Gower's version, death for this villain is an immediate consequence of sin. Craun notes in reference to this scene that 'such immediate punishment for a sin of speech is the stock-in-trade of *exempla* for pastoral compilers'.[36]

In contrast to Gower, both Trivet and Chaucer delay the knight's death by including details appropriate to the status of their works as history and secular saint's life. In Trivet's politicized version, the judgment is put off until the king arrives, and takes place 'puis deinz poi de jours' (254) ('within a few days'), emphasizing the king's authority in sentencing the knight to death. Chaucer delays the action, filling narrative space with ample descriptions that build pathos by portraying Custance as an object of pity:

> Have ye nat seyn somtyme a pale face,
> Among a prees, of hym that hath be lad
> Toward his deeth, wher as hym gat no grace,
> . . .
> So stant Custance, and lookith hire aboute. (645–7, 651)

The swift execution of justice in Gower's version serves to emphasize that envy 'always harms itself', offering 'no temporary pleasure as do the other vices'.[37] Chaucer's Parson echoes this aspect of envy, calling it 'the worste synne that is' because it 'evere hath in itself anwissh and sorwe' (p. 303).

Gower again emphasizes the triumph of charity over envy in Constance's subsequent marriage to King Allee and the religious conversion of Allee 'with many an other mo' (907). Both Trivet and Chaucer stress that Allee feels great pity for Constance because of the false accusations placed upon her. Although Gower does not present a detailed account of Allee's pity, he does allude to Allee's compassion, for when Allee hears of Constance's plight, 'He tok it into remembrance / And thoghte more than he seide' (894–5). Gower then provides a cursory but thematically significant sketch of what appears to be an ideal marriage between Allee and Constance as the marriage is consummated without lust and Constance soon becomes pregnant. Perhaps Gower de-emphasizes this relationship to illustrate that Constance is 'moderate in prosperity', a traditional feature of charity.[38]

Maintaining his rhetorical strategy of juxtaposing scenes of charity with scenes that depict the disruptive power of envy, Gower quickly interrupts this scene of familial bliss. Upon the birth of the child, a messenger is sent to inform Allee, who is away at war, that his wife and child are in good health. Along the way, the messenger stops at the dwelling of Allee's mother, Domilde. Later in

36 Ibid., p. 147.
37 Newhauser, *Treatise*, p. 60.
38 Ibid., p. 63.

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Book Two, Gower writes, 'Wher that Envie thenkth to guile, / He schal be for that ilke while / Of prive conseil Messagier' (1915–17). Exemplifying detraction, she exchanges his letter for another, attempting to lead Allee to think that his wife is a fairy who has given birth to a monster. Domilde represents 'false semblant', the deceptive aspect of envy, as she welcomes the messenger and feigns joy about the birth then switches letters, replacing the letter of joyous news with a false account that the new child is 'misbore' (971). The messenger becomes the unwitting agent of her deception. This false message reveals Domilde's purpose of supplantation as she tellingly notes that the child should not 'cleymen eny heritage' (1025). Subsequently, Domilde exchanges Allee's response, which is to take no immediate action, with a false letter ordering the exile of Constance and the child.

Chaucer's focus is more upon Custance's patient suffering than on the motivations of those characters who distress her. Thus, he is vague about the motivation of the mother-in-law, Donegild in his version, writing that her unhappiness stems from the fact that Custance is foreign: 'Hir thoughte a despit that he sholde take / So strange a creature into his make' (699–700). Trivet specifies the cause of Domilde's behavior as jealousy over Constance's popularity in the land:

> D'autre part grant envie lui avoit le queor naufré, qe Constance [estoit] de totes gentz, riches et povres sanz comparison de lui ou de nule le la terre plus [grantment] preisé de bounté et de seinteté et de merveillouse beauté. (270–3)
>
> ('Moreover, great envy had wounded her heart because Constance, by all people rich and poor, was, without comparison to her or any other lady in the land, more highly praised for goodness and holiness and marvelous beauty.')

Although Trivet mentions envy, his focus is political, emphasizing Constance's popularity as a way to prefigure the popularity of her son. Interestingly, Gower does not provide such a detailed motivation for Domilde's behavior, but clearly attributes it to envy, initially emphasizing her purpose to deceive and later mentioning Constance's popularity as the source of her envious behavior.

That Constance has formed a close bond with the people in Allee's kingdom is apparent, for upon her exile, they all cry 'As thei here ogne Moder sihen / Brent in a fyr before here yhen' (1047–8). Perhaps this reference to fire anticipates Allee's reaction once he returns to his kingdom and sees the harm his mother has caused. He bids his men cast her in a fire, and he watches as she is burned to death. Death by fire fits thematically in Book Two as it evokes the sin of envy, which is itself compared to volcanic eruption earlier in this book.

Elsewhere in Book Two, envious characters are similarly punished severely: In the account of 'Demetrius and Perseus', the jealous Perseus, who has condemned his own brother to death, is fated to die in prison. In 'The Tale of the Travelers and the Angel', an envious man's wish results in punishment for

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both himself and his covetous companion. Granted a wish that will be doubled for his companion, the envious man chooses to be blind in one eye so that his companion will be blinded in both. In 'The Tale of the False Bachelor', the bachelor who has deceived the knight of Rome is punished even though he has been crowned king, and in the account of Pope Boniface, the deceitful pope is imprisoned, eats his own hands off when put into bonds, and ultimately dies of hunger. In 'The Tale of Constance', Gower stresses that Domilde's harsh punishment is just: 'sche it hadde wel deserved / Thurgh tresoun of hire false tunge' (2198–9).

The mothers in Chaucer's and Trivet's versions also meet terrible yet deserved fates. Chaucer simply states that Alla slays his mother (94–100). Trivet informs the reader that, although Domilde begs for mercy, Alla refuses to grant it since she showed no mercy to Constance and her child. Instead, he lops off her head as she lies naked in her bed (417–32), just execution for someone who has threatened the life of the future emperor. Unlike Chaucer and Trivet, however, Gower makes clear that Domilde's fate is a direct consequence of her sin. Allee tells her that she

> Deserved for to deie
> That hast so falsely put aweie
> With tresoun of thi backbiting
> The trewest at my knowlechinge
> Of wyves and the moste honeste. (1278–83)

Therefore, Allee subsequently feels no need for penance following the deed. He later travels to Rome on pilgrimage following his wars for the health of his soul now that he has converted, a scene that, as Patrick Gallacher points out, contrasts with Trivet's and Chaucer's versions in which the trip is made as penance for the mother's death.[39] Gower's Allee has no guilt on his conscience after slaying his own mother, for Domilde has broken the natural bonds of kinship by enviously plotting against her daughter-in-law.

Adrift at sea because of her mother-in-law's treachery, Constance must overcome yet more adversity. Chaucer again emphasizes the pathetic situation and the helplessness of his heroine, particularly as Custance bemoans the fate of her child: 'O litel child, allas! What is thy gilt, / That nevere wroghtest synne as yet, pardee?' (855–6). Again, in contrast, Gower's Constance does not succumb to excessive emotion. She also expresses concern, but then takes action as she turns her attention to caring for her child: 'And tho sche tok hire child in honed / And yaf it sowke' (1078–9). In all three versions, Constance is threatened by a would-be rapist. As the mother of the future emperor, Trivet's Constance is clever and capable. She protects herself and her child by distracting Telous, the attacker, urging him to look over the edge of the ship to find a private

39 In *Love, the Word, and Mercury*, p. 100, Gallacher argues that Allee's pilgrimage in Gower's version is 'more out of devotion than grim necessity' and shows 'a deepening in [Christian] faith for Allee'.

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place on land for their encounter where her young son will not witness and remember the act. While Telous is looking over the edge of the ship for land, Constance seizes the opportunity to sneak up behind him and push him overboard. When threatened by the rapist, Chaucer's Custance, on the other hand, 'cride pitously. / But blisful Marie help hire right anon; / For with hir struglyng wel and mightily / The theef fil over bord al sodeynly, / And in the see he dreynte for vengeance; / And thus hath Crist unwemmed kept Constance' (920–5). As a secular saint, Chaucer's Custance is passive and relies entirely on divine intervention as protection against the advances of the rapist.[40]

Implying that envy motivates Theloüs, the rapist in his version, Gower notes that, when sent by his admiral to check the condition of Constance's ship, Theloüs sees Constance's beauty and hides her, wanting to have her for himself. About this scene, Wetherbee observes that 'Gower's treatment of this moment is characteristically balanced',[41] in that it combines Trivet's and Chaucer's narrative strategies. As an active agent of charity, Gower's Constance is well-equipped to handle adversity, but also fast to seek assistance from God. She first uses her wits to distract Theloüs, telling him to look outside to ensure that no one will witness the act. She then prays for divine intervention, which is immediately granted as Theloüs is thrown off the ship. As Kurt Olsson argues, Constance's close escape is 'not her own doing. . ., but the focus in Gower's narrative, nonetheless, is on her capacity to act'.[42]

After overcoming this would-be rapist, Constance is rescued from the sea and returned to Rome by a senator who has married Constance's cousin. Completely unaware that they are related to the young lady who refers to herself as 'Couste', the senator and his wife take her in and treat her as if she were

40 In a footnote to B. Nolan, 'Chaucer's Tales of Transcendence: Rhyme Royal and Christian Prayer in the Canterbury Tales', in *Chaucer's Religious Tales*, ed. Benson and Robertson, pp. 21–38, the author argues against Custance's passivity, noting that, 'Though her activity is mainly devotional and contemplative, represented chiefly by her direct addresses to divine power, it should not be construed as "passive"' (p. 21 n. 11). In the same volume, G. R. Keiser, 'The Spiritual Heroism of Chaucer's Custance', pp. 121–36, argues that Custance possesses 'self-awareness', without which she would be 'nothing more than a hapless victim of misfortune' (p. 132). Nonetheless, I use the term 'passive' in my reference to Chaucer's Custance. The action on her part, being internal, contrasts dramatically with the social and political actions of her counterparts in Gower and Trivet. Numerous other scholars have noted Custance's passivity. For example, in essays also appearing in *Chaucer's Religious Tales*, R. W. Frank, Jr, describes her as 'a passive innocent, alone and helpless, whose recurring plight invites a pathetic response' ('Pathos in Chaucer's Religious Tales', pp. 39–52 [p. 48]); A. S. G. Edwards describes her as 'a victim, one whose suffering embodies and enacts Christian truth' ('Critical Approaches to the *Man of Law's Tale*', pp. 85–94 [p. 91]); and C. D. Benson calls her 'pale and passive, a victim to the desires of others' ('Poetic Variety in the *Man of Law's* and *The Clerk's Tales*', pp. 137–44 [p. 139]).

41 Wetherbee, 'Constance and the World', p. 73.

42 K. Olsson, *John Gower and the Structures of Conversion: A Reading of the Confessio Amantis* (Cambridge, 1992), p. 95.

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a member of their family, thereby again illustrating charity, which might be demonstrated by 'joy among true brethren'.[43] For Gower, the ultimate display of charity in 'The Tale of Constance' is exemplified not only through neighborly love, but even more so, through the renewal of familial bonds.

All three versions of the Constance narrative culminate in a reunion between the heroine and her husband and father. For Gower, the renewal of these kinship bonds demonstrates the final triumph of charity over envy. Constance learns that Allee has arrived in Rome and sends their son Morris to Allee's feast, requesting that he always remain in sight of Allee. Although he has never seen his son, Allee immediately feels a charitable bond toward him: 'this child he loveth kindely, / And yit he wot no cause why' (1381–2). A second feast reunites Constance with her father and identifies her true heritage. Perhaps as additional contrast to the wicked mothers-in-law who appear earlier in the tale, Gower emphasizes her father's reaction by a reference to her father's own mother: 'For thogh his moder were come / Fro deth to lyve out of the grave, / He mihte nomor wonder have / Than he hath whan that he hire sih' (1525–9).

Olsson notes that, despite Gower's tendency to trim down details in his version of the Constance narrative and despite Chaucer's tendency to embellish with details that add pathos, both versions are, surprisingly, 'almost identical in length'. Olsson accounts for this fact by explaining that Gower makes up the difference in the ending where Genius develops the reunion scenes.[44] The embellishment of these final scenes indicates that, for Gower, the reunion feasts are crucial to his forging of the narrative into an *exemplum contra* envy. The reunions confirm the final triumph of charity over envy; they function in direct opposition to the earlier slaughter at the feast in Surrey. Thus, the conclusion of Gower's tale emphasizes the role of charity as remedy for envy: those characters whom envy motivates all meet their downfalls, while the charitable Constance reestablishes familial bonds and triumphs over her enemies.

The final lines of Gower's version also note the establishment of her son as emperor, with the implicit notion that her son will continue his mother's tradition of charitable behavior through his devotion to Christ: 'Moris hir sone was corouned, / Which so ferforth was abandouned / To Cristes faith, that men him calle / Moris the Cristeneste of alle' (1595–9). Trivet's history instead ends with a different focus, highlighting Constance's political power as she provides a crucial link between Alle, Tiberius and Moriz: 'As Tiberius's daughter, she connects Britain and Rome, a connection she has herself forged by marrying Alle and by literally bringing all of her male relations together.'[45]

In the conclusion of his version, Chaucer emphasizes Custance's role as secular saint. His heroine is ultimately unscathed because she is protected by

43 Newhauser, *Treatise*, p. 63.
44 Olsson, *John Gower and the Structures of Conversion*, p. 99.
45 Barefield, 'Women's Power', p. 31.

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God. Thus, Chaucer glosses over her son's role as emperor, claiming 'But I lete al his storie passen by; / Of Custance is my tale specially' (1124–5). Further, Chaucer explains that her marriage to Alla lasts only a short time before his death and that when she returns to Rome she completes her life 'In vertu and in hooly almus-dede' (1156). As Wetherbee observes, for the Man of Law, the ending is 'a private experience through which Custance gradually withdraws from the world'.[46]

In Gower's version, the heroine's strength 'involves not only her constancy in faith, but her humanity and intelligence'.[47] Gower's Constance, the epitome of charity, is ultimately unscathed because she has demonstrated charitable behavior despite her envious enemies. She is joyfully reunited with her husband and father and returned to her husband's land where she is particularly loved for converting the people to 'Cristes feith' (1570), a final link between charity and conversion. As a direct result of her charity, she lives her last years in peace, proof that her charitable actions have served as remedy for the envious actions of others.

In Gower's work, 'The Tale of Constance' is immediately followed by 'The Tale of Demetrius and Perseus', yet thematically it is closely linked with the final tale of Book Two, 'The Tale of Constantine and Sylvester', also an *exemplum in bono* emphasizing charity and also concerned with historical matters. Russell Peck explains that 'the two [tales] are linked by word play on the names of the title characters (Constance/Constantine), whose subsequent behavior defines constancy. . . . Both Constance and Constantine know how to live where they live, despite whims of fortune and evil-doers.'[48] In 'The Tale of Constantine and Sylvester', the Emperor Constantine, who is confined to his home, in contrast to the wandering Constance, chooses to suffer from his leprosy rather than find relief through a terrible cure, the blood of young children. Like 'The Tale of Constance', this tale emphasizes familial bonds, here as the mothers weep at the idea of losing their children. Constantine, however, acts charitably, choosing to suffer from his disease rather than cause the loss of innocent lives. God rewards Constantine for his charity: 'As He which doth al equité / To him that wroghte charité / He was ageinward charitous' (3327–30). Constantine has a vision of Saint Paul and Saint Peter who urge him to seek out Sylvester, a Christian who is in hiding from the pagan Constantine. Constantine does so and is subsequently converted to Christianity and cured of his disease.

Emphasizing charity, Gower transforms the vessel that was to be used to collect the blood of the children into Constantine's baptismal vessel. Like Constance, Constantine is credited with converting others as he subsequently builds Christian churches. Although Gower acknowledges that his source for this tale ends with an ominous warning to Christians, Genius uses the tale to

46 Gallacher, *Love, the Word, and Mercury*, p. 79.
47 Ibid., p. 70.
48 *John Gower: Confessio Amantis*, 3 vols., ed. R. A. Peck (Kalamazoo, 2003), II, 25.

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instruct Amans to pursue charitable behavior: 'Forthi, if that thou wolt pourchace / How that thou miht Envie flee, / Aqueinte thee with charité, / Which is the vertu sovereine' (3504–9). 'The Tale of Constance' similarly concludes with a statement that illustrates how charitable acts drive out envious misdeeds. In describing the familial bliss that concludes the tale, Gower writes, 'and thus the wel meninge of love / Was ate laste set above' (1599–600). As Peck argues, 'Gower's dramatic tales work by juxtaposition – this tale set against that'.[49] With their emphasis on charity, 'The Tale of Constance' and 'The Tale of Constantine' not only function as *exempla in bono* for Book Two, but also anticipate the conclusion of the *Confessio Amantis*, which establishes the superiority of charitable over courtly love.[50]

Chaucer's and Trivet's tales, of course, also work by juxtaposition. In a work that presents genealogical narratives that span a large history, Trivet uses female figures such as Constance to provide 'key junctures between cultures'.[51] For Trivet, the main purpose of the Constance narrative is to establish a proper genealogy for the future emperor. J. Allen Mitchell explains the differences between the juxtaposition of tales in Gower's and Chaucer's works: whereas the *exempla* in *Confessio Amantis* are structured around confession and involve a single storyteller, Genius, '*The Canterbury Tales* exploits multiple frames of reference' as Chaucer introduces other variables such as 'profession, personality, class, gender, and so on'.[52] Genius's instruction and Amans's confessions and questions provide context for Gower's tales. Chaucer relies upon prologues and endlinks that give context for his tales by developing the personality of his tellers and showing how the other pilgrims react to the narratives.

In addition to the secular status of the Man of Law, the reactions of the Host and Shipman in the Epilogue to 'The Man of Law's Tale' indicate that Chaucer's Custance narrative is not received by the other pilgrims as a pastoral work, but rather as a display of the Man of Law's rhetorical skill. Following 'The Man of Law's Tale', the Host comments briefly, referring to it as 'a thrifty tale for the nones' (1165), one that is appropriate for the occasion. Notably, the Host does not refer to his earlier requirement for tales of best *sentence* and *solas*, although the soberly delivered secular saint's legend seems illustrative of *sentence*. Rather, the Host immediately addresses the Parson, asking him

49 Ibid., p. 27.

50 In 'The Politics and Psychology of Governance in Gower: Ideas of Kingship and Real Kings', in *A Companion to Gower*, ed. Echard, pp. 215–38 (p. 221), R. A. Peck argues that 'The Tale of Apollonius' and 'The Tale of Three Questions', similarly 'serve a summary purpose, not just for a single book, but for the whole of the *Confessio*' because of their examination of thematically significant issues including 'penance, responsible and responsive behavior, community values, ego-control, generosity and self-fulfillment'.

51 Barefield, 'Women's Power', p. 28.

52 J. A. Mitchell, *Ethics and Exemplary Narrative in Chaucer and Gower*, Chaucer Studies 33 (Cambridge, 2004), p. 7.

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to recount a tale appropriate for one who is 'lerned . . . in lore' (1168). When the Parson reacts to the Host's use of a profane expression, the Host refers to the Parson as a 'Lollere' (1173) who will deliver a sermon, a notion that the Shipman vehemently rejects before launching into his own telling of a fabliau. These comments indicate that the 'Man of Law's Tale' has a dramatically different reception for its fictional audience from the lesson on charity Amans is meant to glean from Genius's presentation of 'The Tale of Constance'.

The Parson is once again requested to tell a tale at the conclusion of Chaucer's work, this time a request in earnest from the Host, who has perhaps been sobered by 'The Manciple's Tale', itself an *exemplum* against excessive talk. An appropriate conclusion to *The Canterbury Tales*, 'The Parson's Tale' offers a penitential meditation that includes a treatment of the sins and invites readers to re-consider the previous tales in this context.[53] In his argument that 'The Parson's Tale' is Chaucer's 'most Gowerian tale', Chauncey Wood finds that 'the whole movement of the *Canterbury Tales*, from London to Canterbury, from the Knight to the Parson, is organized to point to confession, contrition and penance'.[54] 'The Parson's Tale' ends with a discussion of the sacrament of penance and is followed by Chaucer's retraction, implying, as Wood points out, that 'sacramental grace was fundamental to social progress'.[55] Although Amans's mock confession dominates the structure of *Confessio Amantis*, Gower's work concludes with a different emphasis from Chaucer's. Implicit in Gower's conclusion is the notion that Amans has learned from Genius's narratives and thus has had a change of heart; not that he is changed through the act of sacramental confession, which Chaucer emphasizes in 'The Parson's Tale'. Wood explains the different effects of the two works: 'Gower exhorted the individual to change himself, while Chaucer urged him to repent. [Gower] believed that change could be willed; [Chaucer] that sacramental grace was fundamental to social progress.'[56] Gower's conclusion also emphasizes that charity is a crucial concept not only in Book Two, but throughout *Confessio Amantis*: Amans, ultimately revealed to be Gower himself, acknowledges his old age, repents and renounces love except 'thilke love which that is / Withinne a mannes herte affermed, / And stant of charite confermed' (VIII, 3162–4).

As Kurt Olsson describes Genius, he is 'a rhetorician: he can fashion a tale to suit the occasion and the condition of his pupil.'[57] 'The Tale of Constance'

53 It is beyond the scope of this paper to discuss the history of scholarship that explores the connection of 'The Parson's Tale' to the rest of *The Canterbury Tales.* However, as Scanlon, *Narrative, Authority, and Power*, p. 7, notes, 'Many scholars have legitimately suggested the tale functions in relation to the rest of the collection like the *sententia* in an exemplum'.

54 C. Wood, 'Chaucer's Most "Gowerian" Tale', in *Chaucer and Gower: Difference, Mutuality, Exchange*, ed. Yeager, pp. 75–84 (p. 82).

55 Ibid.

56 Ibid.

57 K. Olsson, 'Rhetoric, John Gower, and the Late Medieval *Exemplum*', *Medievalia et*

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is a vivid example of Gower's skill in transforming a narrative to fit the dialogue between Genius and Amans. Shaped as an *exemplum in bono*, 'The Tale of Constance' contrasts with the tales preceding and following it. It serves as effective commentary not only on Genius's discussion of 'malebouche' and Amans's confession of it, but on other aspects of the sin presented throughout Book Two. It even anticipates the emphasis on charitable love at the conclusion of *Confessio Amantis.* Within the narrative itself, Gower juxtaposes scenes that expose envious behavior with those that portray charitable acts. Through these narrative strategies, Gower purposefully and artfully reshapes his version of the Constance narrative to show that charity, as exemplified by Constance and those with whom she establishes bonds or whom she converts to Christianity, is ultimately a remedy for envy.

Humanistica 8 (1977), 185–200 (p. 195). J. A. Mitchell argues that Gower himself is characteristically rhetorical in his approach to ethics, see Mitchell, 'Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, Natural Morality, and Vernacular Ethics', in *John Gower. Manuscripts, Readers, Contexts*, ed. M. Urban, Disputatio 13 (Turnhout, 2009), pp. 135–53; Mitchell, *Ethics and Exemplary Narrative*, pp. 36–78.

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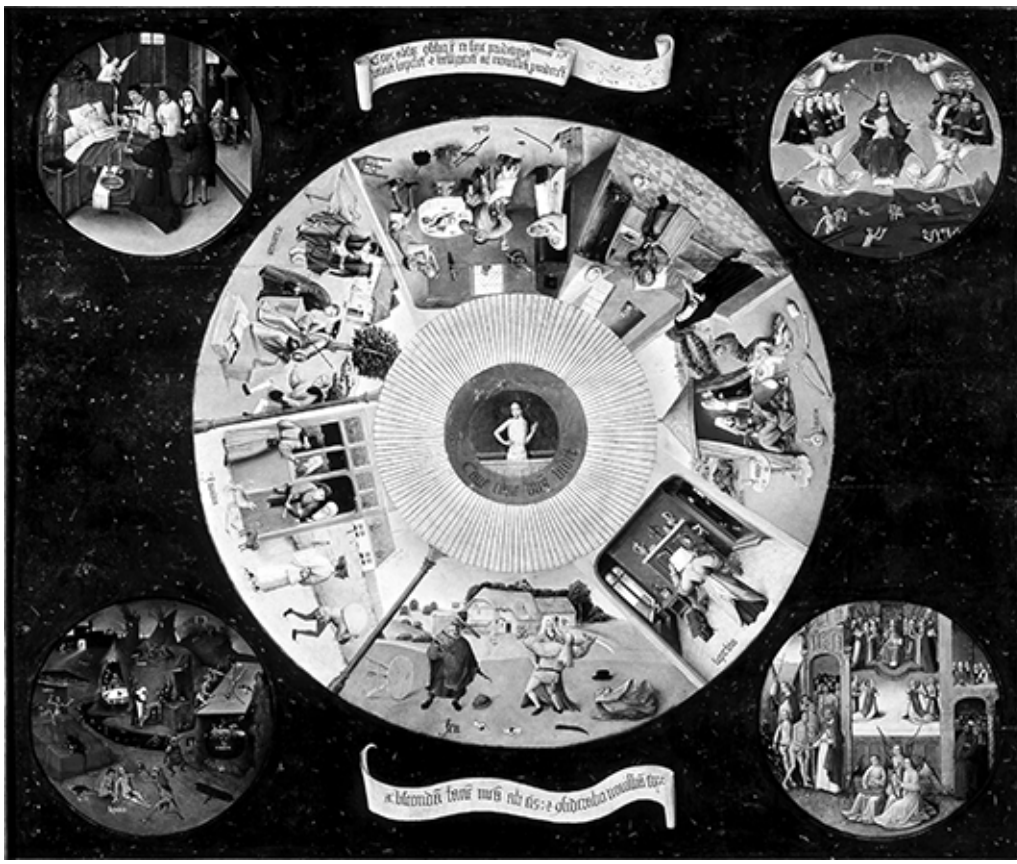

Plate 11.1. Hieronymus Bosch and Workshop (?), *Tabletop of the Seven Deadly Sins*, *c.* 1510. Oil on panel, 47¼ x 59 in. Museo del Prado, Madrid.
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CHAPTER ELEVEN

Through Boschian Eyes: An Interpretation of the Prado *Tabletop of the Seven Deadly Sins*

Henry Luttikhuizen, Calvin College

Interpretations of the *Tabletop of the Seven Deadly Sins*, a work frequently attributed to Hieronymus Bosch and his workshop, typically describe the painting in straightforward terms, as an admonition against vice in preparation for Final Judgment before God, who knows and sees all. In this essay, I argue that such interpretations are inadequate. Although the panel promotes a rejection of sin and calls viewers to do the right thing, it may also have encouraged beholders to reexamine their hearts and see how love and mercy could potentially trump codes of morality without negating them. The painting invites observers to reconsider the gift of grace. After all, Christ is depicted in the center of the image as the Man of Sorrows. Through the offering of his blood, he grants charity and redemption to those who seek his love rather than the false rewards promised by vice.

The Prado *Tabletop of the Seven Deadly Sins* (Plate 11.1), probably completed around 1510, is frequently attributed to Hieronymus Bosch and, in view of its uneven execution, his workshop.[1] Yet some scholars believe that it was not produced by Bosch's hand at all and is the work of a skilled follower.[2] Rather than focus on the problem of attribution, this essay will address the complexities of this unusual early sixteenth-century painting, paying special attention to the ways in which this image seems to look back at the viewer. Whether the panel is by Bosch or merely Boschian is of little consequence to the argument I will provide.

First, however, we briefly need to consider the presence of the evil eye. Although we typically associate the evil eye with witchcraft and superstition, practices either outside Western civilization or prior to the Age of Enlightenment, it has, in a sense, returned to confront, if not haunt, us. In contemporary theories

1 Earlier versions of this essay were presented as the Lillian and Morrie Moss Endowed Lecture at Rhodes College (2007) and as part of the Sewanee Medieval Colloquium at the University of the South (2007).

2 W. Gibson, 'Hieronymus Bosch and the Mirror of Man: The Authorship and Iconography of the *Tabletop of the Seven Deadly Sins*', *Oud Holland* 87 (1973), 205–26 (pp. 205–8).

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of visual culture, especially those linked to post-structuralism, we are frequently encouraged to look with downcast eyes.[3] Vision is considered suspicious. Not only are we cautioned not to believe what we see and told that staring is impolite, but we are also informed that sight can be incredibly violent. Like reason, it can be a potentially dangerous weapon of dominion and control.

French scholars, such as Michel Foucault, are often cited as authors challenging the simple benefits of vision. Foucault makes scattered references to Boschian imagery. Yet, to my knowledge, he does not explicitly discuss the *Tabletop*, a painting that, as we shall see, is quite extraordinary in addressing the eye and the dynamics of vision. Although our focus will remain on the work of Hieronymus Bosch, it is becoming increasingly difficult to talk about the issue at hand without noting the ideas of Foucault.

In *Discipline and Punish*, Foucault discusses the ways in which the surveillance of a hidden panopticon, an all-seeing eye, controls those under its watch and normalizes their behavior.[4] In the midst of being seen, but without seeing the overseer, those being observed begin to discipline themselves. Although invisible, the panopticon is an extraordinary means of power, for it can systematically survey everything under its gaze, guaranteeing order and stability to all it encloses. Like Big Brother, the panopticon offers constant and complete surveillance with no nooks or crannies of exit or escape. Within this rubric, enlightenment is united to rationality; however, it does not provide personal freedom or autonomy, but instead offers subjugation and control. Normalcy is determined by the tyranny of the unseen eye.

At first glance, the *Tabletop of the Seven Deadly Sins* may seem to reinforce a Foucaultian account of surveillance. Yet a closer look at the painting points to other possibilities. Bosch's *Tabletop* may even have served as a gaze inviting the eye to bless others, and not simply to look at them, but rather to look after them. Although the painting may have fed the desire of some for an all-compassing moral code, it may have incited others to transcend the rules of good conduct, without necessarily breaking them, and encouraged pious observers to give of themselves more fully out of love and mercy.

The nearly square *Tabletop* is filled with five circular scenes. In the center, vignettes representing the seven vices surround the figure of Christ, while at the corners, four roundels show the Last Things. The seven vices are not arranged in an upright fashion; they radiate around the image of Christ. The wheel-like organization of the scenes suggests the totality of sin throughout the world and conveys the power of sin to turn the ways of the world. The notion that the wicked walk around in circles is based on Psalm 11. 9 (Vulgate) and is found in numerous medieval texts. St Augustine, St Bernard of Clairvaux and William of St Thierry all call attention to the circular repetition of sin, highlighting its

3 M. Jay, *Downcast Eyes: The Denigration of Vision in Twentieth-Century French Thought* (Berkeley, 1993).

4 M. Foucault, *Surveiller et punir: naissance de la prison* (Paris, 1975), trans. A. Sheridan as *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York, 1977), pp. 195–228.

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foolish character. Walking in sin, it is suggested, has a dizzying effect because it forgets the true center of existence, upon which everything else revolves.[5]

Bosch's tableau has been called a tabletop because of the way the vices are composed. To see each vignette right-side up the viewer would have to circumnavigate the panel. There is, however, no archival evidence that the painting was ever displayed horizontally or that it ever served as a piece of furniture. Some time in the middle of the sixteenth century, the *Tabletop* entered the collection of the Spanish monarch, Felipe II, who placed it in his palace-monastery complex at El Escorial. According to Fray José de Sigüenza's account, Bosch's panel hung in the king's bedroom.[6] However, this fact does not deny the possibility that the work was exhibited differently. It could once have been displayed perpendicular to the wall. Either way, the panel encourages viewers to walk around the image, even if just imaginatively.

Each vice is clearly marked with a Latin inscription and is rendered to reveal the loss of love for God and neighbor.[7] Those preoccupied with vice can no longer love because they cannot recognize it any longer. The seven vices are considered deadly not simply because they are outside the good, but because they ward off the good by concealing it. They can easily become habitual and can have fatal effects on one's spiritual life and health. The repetition of vice hardens the heart, keeping human beings from pursuing charity and justice, from doing the right thing. It severely hinders one's ability to serve God by hiding what it means to love and be loved. Vice, it is suggested, destroys life by eliminating the capacity to participate in love. According to Bosch's *Tabletop*, it is vice, not love, that is blind, for it prevents humans from seeing how the world is and how it should be.

Since the ways of sin appear circular, no vice is given priority over the others. No single vice in the Boschian picture can serve as the root of all evil. One sin may lead to another, but their order, at least in Bosch's panel, seems arbitrary. Nonetheless, for the sake of convenience, we will view the vices in a clockwise direction beginning with avarice.

In this outdoor scene, a corrupt judge sits on a long bench under a linden tree, an arbor often associated with fairness and justice. Although he holds a long baton marked with ten ivory studs, signifying the Ten Commandments, and wears the proper accoutrements of his office, the judge accepts bribes from both sides. His actions are a sinister parody of the Gospel prescription for giving alms without inviting hypocrisy: do not let your left hand know what your right hand is doing (Matthew 6. 3). The judge is stealing not only from the two parties immediately affected by his ruling, but by implication, from everyone,

5 Gibson, 'Hieronymus Bosch and the Mirror of Man', pp. 210–14.

6 José de Sigüenza, *Historía de la Orden de San Gerónimo* (1605), trans. J. Snyder as 'History of the Order of St Jerome', in *Bosch in Perspective*, ed. J. Snyder (Englewood Cliffs, 1973), p. 37.

7 W. Gibson, *Hieronymus Bosch* (London, 1973), pp. 33–8; and L. Silver, *Hieronymus Bosch* (New York, 2006), pp. 305–18.

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for his actions compromise the possibility of justice. Avarice is not merely represented as a kind of theft, an ill-gotten acquisition, but is also shown in terms of unjust spending. The judge is not alone in his crime, though he bears the greatest responsibility, since he is misusing his authority. Even though the man on the far right is greasing the palm of the judge with a coin, he will likely lose the suit, as the other man holds a larger purse. Interestingly, neither of the men recognizes that the other is extending a bribe. Similarly, the two men on the far left of the scene seem to be too busy discussing the details of a legal document to notice the criminal deeds before them. Although the men are apparently well educated in regards to the law, they do not see it being abused. Only the viewer of Bosch's panel is able to witness the violations.

In the next scene, gluttony, a fat peasant gnaws on a meat bone, likely a pig's foot, while clutching a large tankard of beer. Although there is plenty of food on the table and a huge sausage cooking over a fire near a large kettle on the floor, a woman brings additional meat into the room. To the left, a skinny man quickly rises up, overturning his stool, to guzzle down drink from a big jar. On the wall behind the figures hangs a large knife, suggesting the violence that alcohol can instill. Meanwhile, in a niche above the doorway, an owl is perched. This nocturnal bird of prey with an aversion to light is frequently linked to ignorance. The owl may also allude to drunkenness, due to the enlarged size of its pupils.[8] The owl's presence reinforces the folly of those depicted below. In the foreground, a chunky child wearing oversized 'bierlaats' or beer boots reaches for the mug of the seated man.[9] Rotund and apparently fixated on alcohol, the boy seems likely to follow in his father's footsteps. An abandoned ball and 'kolf' club on the floor appears to suggest that the youth is more interested in drinking than in playing games. Gluttony is more than bad table manners or boorish behavior; it is a matter of overindulgence of the flesh and a failure to recognize moderation. Preoccupied with feeding the body, the excessive consumer is in grave danger of forgetting the need to feed the soul. Gluttony, the image suggests, will ultimately lead to material and spiritual impoverishment. Saint Thomas Aquinas considered it the most childish of the seven deadly sins, for its intemperance and lack of reason.[10] The toilet-training chair in the foreground of Bosch's vignette reinforces the immaturity associated with the

8 D. Bax, *Ontcijfering van Jeroen Bosch* (1947), trans. M. A. Bax-Botha as *Hieronymus Bosch: His Picture-Writing Deciphered* (Rotterdam, 1979), pp. 208–13; P. Vandenbroeck, 'Bubo significans. I. Die Eule als Sinnbild der Schlechtigkeit und Torheit, vor allem in der niederländischen und deutschen Bilddarstellung und bei Jheronimus Bosch', *Jaarboek Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen* (1985), 19–135. In addition, there is an old Netherlandish saying, 'zo zat als een uil' ('as soaked as an owl'), reinforcing the association between the bird and inebriation.

9 H. Janssen, O. Goubitz and J. Kottman, 'Everyday Objects in the Paintings of Hieronymus Bosch', in *Hieronymus Bosch: New Insights into his Life and Work*, ed. J. Koldeweij, B. Vermet and B. van Kooij (Rotterdam, 2001), pp. 171–92 (pp. 164–5).

10 Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae*, 2a 2ae, q. 35, ed. and trans. T. R. Heath, in *Summa theologiae*, 61 vols. [Blackfriars] (New York, 1964–81), XXXV, 26–31.

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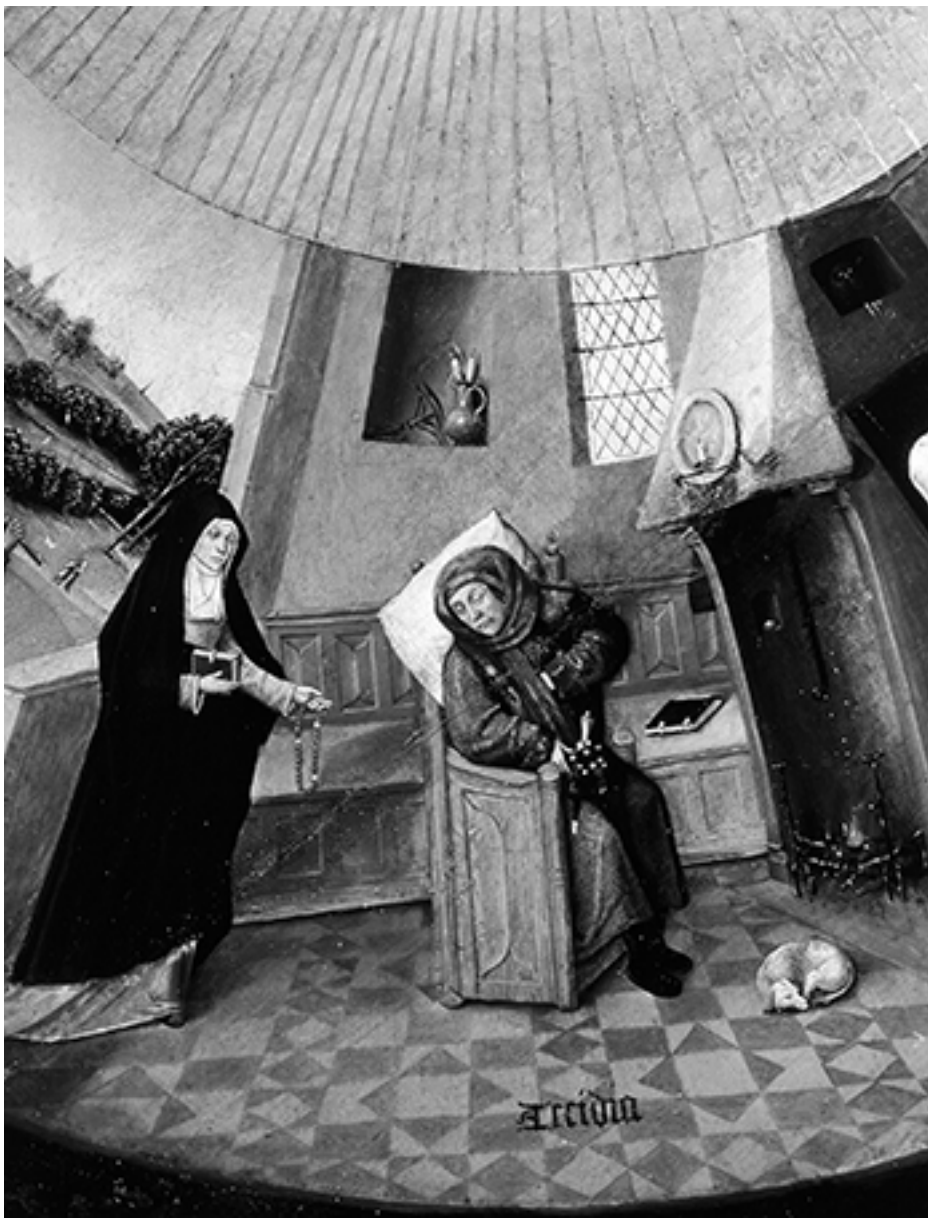

Plate 11.2. Sloth. Detail from Hieronymus Bosch and Workshop (?), *Tabletop of the Seven Deadly Sins*. Museo del Prado, Madrid.
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vice and implies the resultant waste of behaving in this foolhardy manner. The insatiable desire for food and drink blinds the figures to seeing the future and keeps them from looking for things that last.

The following scene represents sloth (Plate 11.2). In the center of the image, a middle-class townsman, dressed for outdoors, sleeps in a chair directed towards a burning fire. His faithful companion, a white dog, is curled up nearby, also enjoying the warmth offered by the interior's hearth. The two lazy figures lack industry, as they waste away a sunny day napping. A yarn winder and spindles, items associated with domestic work, also remain idle in a wall niche. Although the man is neglecting his duties, he is not financially poor; nor is it implied that his slumber will lead to financial loss. And yet, his sloth is, as represented by Bosch, potentially deadly. As the closed prayer book next to his chair suggests, the sleeping man is sluggish in his faith and slow to fulfill his spiritual obligations. Aquinas opposed sloth to charity.[11] In Latin, sloth is called *acedia*, which literally signifies the absence of care.[12] The problem of sloth is spiritual apathy. The man prefers to sleep rather than serve God and his neighbor. Even though he slumbers before a fire, his heart has gone cold. The fire of love and charity has gone out. Some scholars have suggested that the approaching woman in the scene offers an antithesis of the napping man.[13] Holding prayer book and beads, she is said to be trying to wake the man from his spiritual slumber, calling him back to devotion. However, her status is more ambiguous than that. The woman's actions may also imply sloth. Although she exhibits devotional aids, there is no way of knowing whether their appearance indicates hypocrisy or piety. She may simply be going through the motions of devotion without taking them to heart. The presence of the unused yarn winder and spindles, like her own closed prayer book, seems to suggest that she could be, like the man, lethargic in her faith. Either way, her presence calls attention to dangers of sloth as an aversion to loving God. Although sloth is described in the painting as a restful escape, it is also condemned, for it is a shirking of responsibilities, one doomed to produce sorrow, for it impedes charity, keeping the heart from discovering its intended end, union with God. Sloth is ultimately not peaceful because it hinders humanity's ability to seek love or even see the gifts of charity that have already been extended.[14]

In the next scene of this wheel of misfortune, the deadly sin of lust is depicted (Plate 11.3). Like gluttony, lust is a vice linked with the carnal pleasures and immediate gratification. Within a courtly garden, amorous couples pursuing

11 Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae* 2a 2ae, q. 142, q. 148, ed. and trans. T. Gilby, in *Summa theologiae* [Blackfriars], XLIII, 34–47, 118–33.

12 Wenzel, *Sloth*, p. 54.

13 L. Silver, 'God in the Details: Bosch and Judgment(s)', *Art Bulletin* 83 (2001), 626–50 (p. 629); L. D. Gelfand, 'Social Status and Sin: Reading Bosch's Prado *Seven Deadly Sins and Four Last Things* Painting', in *Seven Deadly Sins*, pp. 229–56 (p. 240).

14 R. K. DeYoung, 'Resistance to the Demands of Love: Aquinas on the Vice of *Acedia*', *The Thomist* 68 (2004), 173–204.

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Plate 11.3. Lust. Detail from Hieronymus Bosch and Workshop (?), *Tabletop of the Seven Deadly Sins*. Museo del Prado, Madrid.
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love are dressed in archaic costumes, indicating their loss of sense of time. Deep within the interior of a scarlet 'Venus' tent, a man and woman engage in flirtatious conversation, while at its opening, a couple relaxing share a large cup of wine. In the background, a distant pair enjoys a romantic stroll. Next to the tent, a decorated table displays drinking utensils and a plate loaded with freshly plucked cherries, implying the loss of sexual innocence and virtue.[15]

15 In a general sense, all *vruchten* (fruit) can be readily linked to *vruchtbaarheid* (fruitfulness or fertility). Consequently, the tasting of fruit can have positive or negative connotations depending on their particular context. In this case, cherries are presented within a false garden of love, reinforcing their seductive power to incite lust. Additionally, cherries, like wine, were often consumed to arouse sexual excitement. Cf. R. Falkenburg, *The Fruit of Devotion: Mysticism and the Imagery of Love in Flemish Paintings of the Virgin and Child, 1450–1500* (Amsterdam, 1994), pp. 13–15; K. P. F. Moxey, 'Master E. S. and the Folly of Love', *Simiolus* 11 (1980), 125–48.

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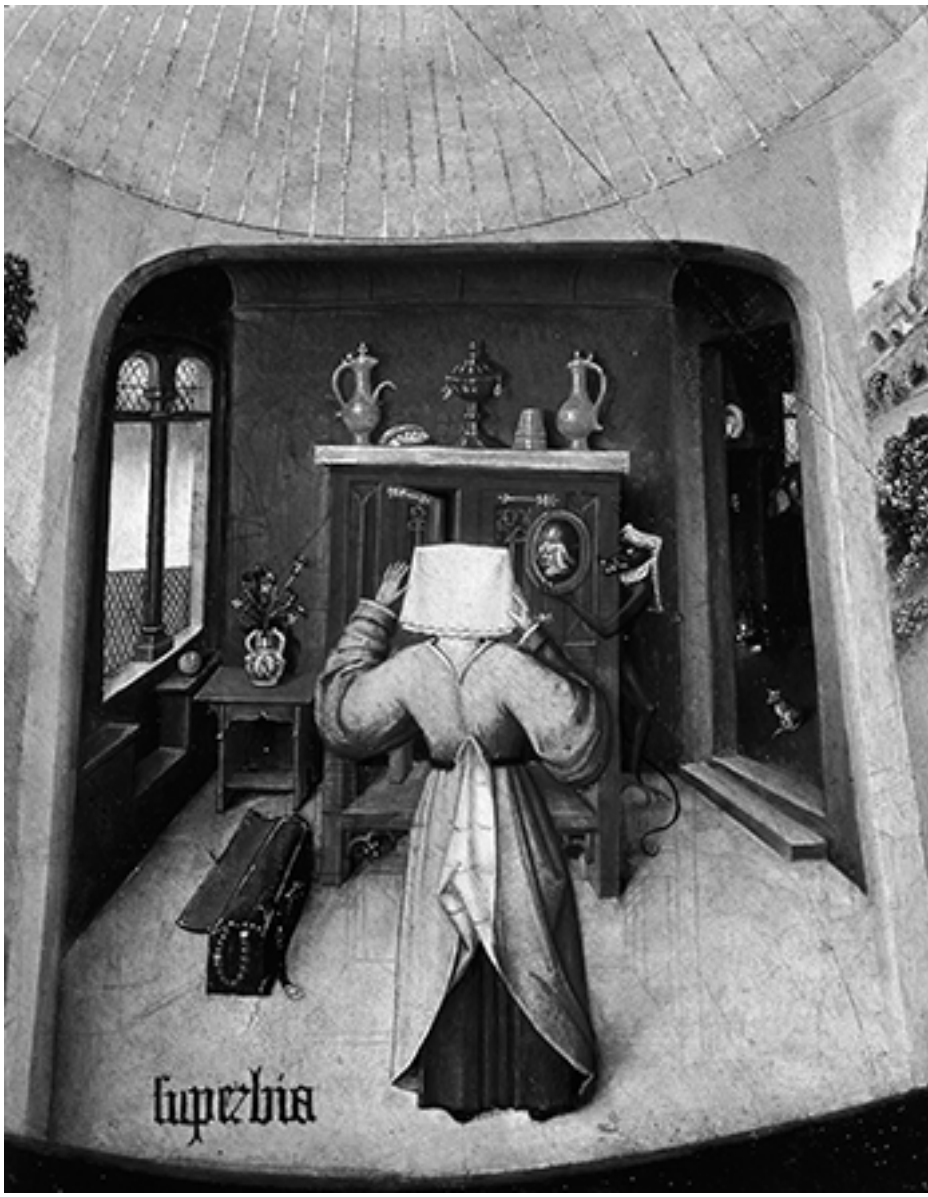

Plate 11.4. Pride. Detail from Hieronymus Bosch and Workshop (?), *Tabletop of the Seven Deadly Sins*. Museo del Prado, Madrid.
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On the ground, an upright phallic-shaped wine bottle and strewn musical instruments also call attention to lustful behavior. In the history of art, the playing of music is often linked with romance. Making love is described in terms of making music together. The harp, flute and drum are musical instruments often associated with religious devotion, for according to numerous biblical references, they sound praises to God. However, in Bosch's painting, they have been cast aside, so that an alternative and unharmonious 'music' can still be played. To the right of the tent, an open-mouthed fool, holding a jester's staff and dressed in a costume with donkey ears, kneels down on all fours as a man beats his exposed backside with a wooden spoon. This motif, located directly above a discarded drum and stick, likely derives from the Dutch saying 'door de billen slaan' ('to strike through the buttocks'), suggesting sexual debauchery.[16] Although the setting may resemble a garden of paradise, those who reside within its boundaries foolishly chase after false joys. Losing themselves in misguided passion, the figures in this painting can see only the object of their desires. Everyone else, including the divine, is either ignored or forgotten. Blind to love from the effects of lust, Bosch's couples endlessly follow their insatiable desires in search of promises that cannot deliver.

The following vignette represents the sin of pride (Plate 11.4). Within the confines of a middle-class interior, a woman adjusts her hat. Fascinated with her own reflection in a convex mirror, she does not recognize that her headdress is unfashionably out of date.[17] Preoccupied with her personal appearance, the woman also fails to see that the mirror is held by a wolf-headed demon wearing a similar hat. The room is well decorated with polished metal vessels, fresh flowers and fine furniture. Although the space seems pristine, the woman's vanity precludes the possibility of inner purity. The jewelry box on the floor next to her reveals rosary beads falling from its open lid, but their presence does not suggest spiritual cleanliness. On the contrary, the rosary beads seem to indicate religious hypocrisy. The value of the beads to foster piety appears to be lost in this excessive display of self-admiration. An apple resting on the windowsill reinforces the dangers of pride by recalling the original sin. Pride is more than the absence of humility; it is fixation on the self to the exclusion of all others. The vice denies charity. Not only does it keep human beings from seeing the need to love others, but pride also conceals their dependency on the love provided by others. In an adjacent room, a young man also primps before a round mirror. Like the woman, he too is deeply infatuated with himself. Vainglory, however, invites solitude. The man and the woman in Bosch's image do not see one another. Nor do they pay attention to the calico cat that sits between them. The figures are condemned to loneliness. Not only are they

16 Janssen, Goubitz and Kottman, 'Everyday Objects', pp. 161–2.

17 Comparing Bosch's image of a proud woman to fifteenth-century Netherlandish portraits of women will readily reveal that the popularity of the headdress waned significantly decades before the *Tabletop* was produced. Cf. Silver, 'God in the Details', p. 628.

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incapable of caring for others, the prideful will never be satisfied by their own appearance. Ultimately, they cannot even find love in themselves.

In the next section of the wheel, located upright at the bottom of the circle, appears anger. Of all the vices, anger is the easiest to view because it appears upright to the beholder. In this scene, two drunks toting large knives fight outside a tavern. One man has already been hit over the head with a three-legged chair. The other, balancing his aim with a mug, leans back to maximize the force of his next blow. A table has been overturned as the figures have drawn their weapons. Meanwhile, a woman tries to intervene and stop the impending violence. Although she grasps one of the men, both of them ignore her. Their hats have been removed, but this does not evoke notions of gentlemanly conduct or respect. On the contrary, it reveals their folly. 'Without hats' ('buten hoede'), a Dutch expression for 'not using one's head', the men lack proper protection.[18] The tavern in the background, like the mug held by one of the attackers, reinforces the notion that alcohol incites violence. Even the image of a roaring lion on the tavern's signboard symbolizes the rage seen below. The brawling men have a perverted sense of justice. Like the figures of pride, they act out of selfish expectation. The men appear to battle one another to satisfy their own hurt feelings rather than defend any common good. Unable to see the power of divine providence, they abuse justice by foolishly taking matters into their own hands.

Finally, the only vignette framed between columns, namely, that depicting envy (Plate 11.5), completes our hermeneutic circle of deadly sin. In this scene, the deadly sin is also cast in terms of class conflict. Within this setting, sight and misguided desire are closely related. Standing at the threshold of a middle-class home, a couple stare at an aristocrat holding a falcon. They seem to long for the privileged status he enjoys. Meanwhile, a young suitor approaches the couple's daughter, who remains confined behind barred windows. Although he extends a flower to the girl, the suitor directs his gaze elsewhere. Like the parents of the maiden, he looks at the falconer. In fact, the young man, hoping to win the girl's hand in marriage, appears to covet the attention that they offer to the aristocrat. For his part, the falconer does not graciously accept the looks he receives. On the contrary, he stares back at the young couple at the window, disappointed perhaps that he is unable to catch the interest of the girl. Meanwhile, a servant bearing a heavy load glares back at his master, apparently wishing that his burdens were so light. Reinforcing the implicit narrative of the scene, two dogs in the foreground crave the bone held by the man behind the Dutch door, even though there are already plenty of bones on the ground to chew. Throughout the image, Bosch represents envy, in opposition to charity, as visual longing for another's possessions. All of the figures in this scene want what they do not have or covet who someone else is. In their envy, opportunities to offer neighborly love disappear. Bosch's envious figures cannot see beyond their selfish desires.

18 Bax, *Bosch*, pp. 73, 297.

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Plate 11.5. Envy. Detail from Hieronymus Bosch and Workshop (?), *Tabletop of the Seven Deadly Sins*. Museo del Prado, Madrid.
With permission of Gianni Dagli Orti/The Art Archive at Art Resource, NY.

Although the seven vices are separated in the painting by spokes, their meanings often overlap, reinforcing the notion that one sin can easily lead to another. The deadly sins are not radically isolated from one another. In fact, they share much in common. Although the complexity of the image and the use of Latin inscriptions suggests the patronage of an educated elite, figures from different social classes and various occupations are shown participating in vice. In addition, both men and women are shown doing the wrong thing. As Laura Gelfand has noted, some people in Bosch's panel are more predisposed to practicing certain vices than others.[19] For instance, the poor are more prone to gluttony and anger. Nonetheless, as represented in images of the Dance of Death, everyone, regardless of their social status, is potentially implicated: guilty until proven innocent.

All seven slices of a world upside down are presented to encourage viewers to convert, to turn around their lives. The presentation of the vices not only points out the dangers of worldly temptation, but also calls observers to

19 Gelfand, 'Social Status and Sin', pp. 229–56.

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repent and seek God. Bosch's painting seems to echo the Augustinian notion that the heart cannot find rest until it is one with God.[20] None of the figures in Bosch's wheel of deadly sin recognize the figure of Christ who resides above them. Because of their misguided desires, those ridden with vice cannot find the joys of love or see the means of their own redemption. Envy and the other mortal sins might be conditioned by sight, but this is not to say that the eye is necessarily evil. After all, in Bosch's depiction of the vices, sinful desires are associated with a failure of vision, the inability to recognize love. By contrast, the viewer of the *Tabletop* can readily notice the folly of sin and can easily identify Christ in the middle of the image.

As Walter Gibson has noted, the central circle of the *Tabletop* resembles a bull's eye mirror, a round convex mirror popular in the late Middle Ages.[21] The images reflected in this mirror do not appear distorted. On the contrary, they seem to replicate the ways that things are with clarity and precision. Throughout the Middle Ages, the term 'mirror' appeared in the titles of devotional tracts, from the *Speculum peccatoria* (*Mirror of Sinners*), falsely attributed to Saint Augustine, to the anonymous *Speculum humanae salvationis* (*Mirror of Human Salvation*) compiled in the early fourteenth century. Frequently, the word is employed to convey a clear picture or faithful copy of reality. In Bosch's mirror, beholders confront a reflection of themselves as sinners in need of salvation. However, the mirror does not merely show vice. In the center of the circle, Christ appears as the Man of Sorrows. He is the 'spotless mirror', without blemish, that believers are called – and yet, prone to sin, often fail – to imitate.

A closer look at the central circle reveals the configuration of an eye, with a half-length figure of Christ in the pupil surrounded by an iris of golden rays. The cornea, filled with the scenes of the vices, indicates what God sees, a sinful humanity unable to recognize his presence. Reinforcing the notion that this is the eye of God, the Latin inscription directly below Christ warns the viewer, 'Beware, beware, God sees'. The banderoles above and below the divine eye offer abbreviated Latin translations of verses from the thirty-second chapter of Deuteronomy: 'For they are a nation void of counsel, and there is no understanding in them. If they were wise, they would understand this, they would discern their latter end' (verses 28–9) and 'I will hide my face from them, I will see what their end will be, for they are a perverse generation, children in whom there is no faithfulness' (verse 20). These admonitions remind beholders that God not only witnesses their deeds, but will also come to judge them for their actions. As Joseph Koerner has noted, 'By turning his painting into an eye, Bosch reverses our usual orientation to images as active viewers to objects passively seen. He makes his work return our glance, indeed hold us in

20 Augustine of Hippo, *Confessionum libri XIII* i.1, ed. M. Skutella, rev. L. Verheijen, CCSL 27 (Turnhout, 1981), p. 1: 'inquietum est cor nostrum, donec requiescat in te'.

21 Gibson, 'Hieronymus Bosch and the Mirror of Man', pp. 217–26.

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its gaze as we are revealed in our various sins.'[22] The painted eye reveals the *Weltanschauung* or worldview of God, who, like Foucault's panopticon, is able to see everything.

The iris of the Boschian eye suggests rays of light, encouraging beholders to identify Christ as the light of the world. It also evokes the notion that Christ is the 'sun of justice' or 'righteousness'.[23] As described in the first two verses of Malachi 4, the condemned will burn as if they were in an oven, whereas 'for those who fear God's name, the sun of righteousness shall rise with healing in its wings'. Christ, like the pagan deity Helios, carries souls across the heavens. As the Sun of Justice, Christ mercifully provides the pardon of grace to those who love him.[24]

Within the pupil, Christ appears as a living corpse, who stands in his tomb as he exposes the wounds of his crucifixion. Presented as the Man of Sorrows, Christ reveals his perpetual suffering. However, Christ not only appears as an innocent victim, forgotten by foolish sinners; he also serves as priest. Squeezing the wound at his side, Christ offers the gift of his blood. Depicted directly above the scene of anger, the peaceful figure of Christ sacrifices himself for the redemption of others. He empties himself for the salvation of the faithful, of all those who seek him. Perhaps this is the greatest difference between Bosch's all-seeing eye and Foucault's panopticon. In Bosch's image, the omnivoyant longs to be recognized by and united with humanity. The divine gaze suggests not only constant surveillance, but also infinite love. It implies that humanity is never abandoned or forsaken by God. Bosch's interpretation of the divine eye is analogous to that of Nicholas of Cusa. As the fifteenth-century German mystic put it in his *Vision of God*, 'And since the eye is there wherever love is, I experience that you love me because your eyes rest most attentively on me your humble servant. Your seeing, Lord, is your loving. And just as your gaze looks upon me, so attentively that it never turns away from me, so it is with your love.'[25] God's vision suggests the careful protection of a parent. Hence, the thirteenth-century friar Roger Bacon prays, 'Preserve us, Oh Lord, as the pupil of your eye'.[26] Bosch's panel may have

22 J. Koerner, 'Hieronymus Bosch's World Picture', in *Picturing Science, Producing Art*, ed. C. Jones and P. Galison (London, 1998), pp. 297–326 (p. 317).

23 Cf. E. Panofsky, 'Albrecht Dürer and Classical Antiquity', in *Meaning in the Visual Arts: Papers in and on Art History* (New York, 1955), pp. 256–65.

24 Silver, 'God in the Details', p. 628.

25 Nicholas of Cusa, *De visione Dei* iv.11, ed. and trans. J. Hopkins, in *Nicholas of Cusa's Dialectical Mysticism: Text, Translation, and Interpretive Study of De visione Dei* (Minneapolis, 1985), p. 124: 'Et quoniam ibi amor ubi oculus, tunc te me diligere experior, quia oculi tui sunt super me servulum tuum attentissime. Domine, videre tuum est amare; et sicut visus tuus adeo attente me prospicit quod numquam se a me avertit, sic et amor tuus.' English translation by H. L. Bond, in Nicholas of Cusa, *Selected Spiritual Writings* (New York, 1997), p. 139.

26 Roger Bacon, *Perspectiva* III.iii.1, ed. and trans. D. C. Lindberg in *Roger Bacon and the Origins of Perspectiva in the Middle Ages: A Critical Edition and English Translation of Bacon's Perspectiva, with Introduction and Notes* (Oxford, 1996), p. 322: 'Custode nos,

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encouraged observers to ask God to love them as his children and keep them from dying from sin.

As mentioned previously, the figure in the pupil of the painted eyeball is the Son of God, whom the pious are called to imitate. As the Man of Sorrows, Christ functions as intercessor, defending humanity at the moment of judgment. On behalf of sinners, he pleads before God by sacrificing himself.[27] Christ also seems to implore humanity to model their lives in conformity to his life. As viewers, we are unable to imitate the panopticon. Beholders of Bosch's painting are not omnivoyant. On the contrary, observers see only in parts. The whole picture eludes vision. Simply put, it is nearly impossible to see Christ and the vices simultaneously, let alone perceive the contents of the five roundels in the picture at once. Yet, by perusing pictorial details, pious beholders, it is implied, can gain spiritual insight. Bosch's painting fosters introspection, an examination of the heart, encouraging onlookers to see the mortal dangers of sin and the means of grace. It calls viewers to pray for forgiveness, for the grace of God to shine upon them. After all, the failure to see God is also the failure to see the world and to see within oneself. It conceals the need for confession. The devout recognize that no sins can be hidden from God, who sees all and will judge accordingly. Evil intentions may be concealed from others, but the secrets of the hearts are known by God. Consequently, it makes sense to see oneself through the eyes of God and act as if God is always watching. The gaze of the divine disciplines the beholder by advocating heartfelt penance and virtuous behavior.

The four roundels at the corners of Bosch's panel represent the Four Last Things: death, judgment day, heaven and hell, a subject popular in the late medieval spiritual writings of two Netherlandish mystics, Denis the Carthusian and Gerard de Vliederhoven, a Teutonic monk from Utrecht.[28] On the upper left, a dying man surrounded by clerics receives extreme unction or last rites. Behind him, an angel and demon vie for his soul, as the skeletal figure of death, extending an arrow, ready to pierce the man, approaches. Nonetheless, the dying man, holding a sacred candle and apparently unconcerned with worldly desires, seems to be well prepared for his earthly demise. He appears to practice the art of dying well.[29] In the adjacent room, two seated women

Domine, ut pupillam oculi' (cf. Psalm 16. 8). Cf. D. Denery, III, *Seeing and Being Seen in the Later Medieval World: Optics, Theology, and Religious Life*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thoughts, 4th series 63 (Cambridge, 2005), p. 6. Denery quotes from the best edition.

27 B. Ridderbos, 'The Man of Sorrows: Pictorial Images and Metaphorical Statements', in *The Broken Body: Passion Devotion in Late-Medieval Culture*, ed. A. A. McDonald, H. N. B. Ridderbos and R. M. Schlusemann, Mediaevalia Groningana 21 (Groningen, 1998), pp. 145–81.

28 B. Lane, 'Bosch's *Tabletop of the Seven Deadly Sins* and the *Cordiale quattuor novissimorum*', in *Tribute to Lotte Brand Philip: Art Historian and Detective*, ed. W. Clark *et al.* (New York, 1985), pp. 88–94.

29 *Leven na de dood: Gedenken in de late Middeleeuwen*, exhibition catalogue, ed. T. van Beuren, with contrib. W. C. M. Wüstefeld (Utrecht, 1999). Cf. M. C. O'Connor, *The Art of Dying Well* (New York, 1942); P. Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation*

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pray for his soul at the hour of death. Simply put, the roundel shows a dying man who serves as a model for viewers to imitate, for he is ready to see God.

In the roundel on the upper right, the enthroned Christ, flanked by seated saints and angels sounding trumpets with banners depicting the weapons of his suffering, judges humanity on the day of reckoning, as awakened naked figures rise from their graves. Some of the recently resurrected seem to be trying to conceal themselves from Christ, while others sit in shame, indicating that their time for penance has already passed. The sword and the lily appear near Christ's head, indicating his mercy and justice. However, Christ is not only shown as the Pantocrator, the triumphant ruler of all, ready to judge humanity; he is also rendered as the Man of Sorrows, revealing his wounds as the source of redemption. The dead, crawling out of their tombs, remind the living, those looking at the painted scene, to be prepared for death.

In the roundel directly below the Day of Judgment, a view of heaven is represented. At the top of the circle, Christ, surrounded by angels, extends his blessing, as he sits upon a golden throne. To the left, Saint Peter welcomes the saved, that is to say, the renewed souls with resurrected bodies, to the palaces of heaven, while the Archangel Michael ensures that an interrupting demon will not thwart the entry of the elect. At the opposite side of the circle, clothed figures, probably Old Testament holy men, stand at the threshold of a heavenly gate, apparently assigned to a lower place within the celestial city. In the foreground, three angels play harmonious music amidst the sweet fragrance of flowers, reminiscent of courtly gardens of love. This circular scene of paradise shows that which awaits those who seek God.

Not surprisingly, hell is depicted on the opposite side of the panel, in the roundel on the lower left. In this desolate environment, barren and yet enflamed, punishments for all seven vices are depicted. Each of them is labeled with a Latin inscription, offering a clear nexus between the deadly sins represented in the central roundel and their resulting penalty in hell. For Bosch, hell is not other people; nor is it a matter of always being seen. On the contrary, hell is the loss of connections with God and neighbors; it is the place where love can no longer be recognized or seen.

At the lower left, the greedy are placed in a smelting cauldron, where they will become one with the coins they have hoarded. In the upper left, a gluttonous man, positioned within a banquet tent, is forced by demons to eat serpents and toads, vile and slimy creatures considered poisonous and believed to consume human flesh. Near the center of the roundel, the bent figure of a slothful man is held by a devil as a woman beats his backside with a hammer. To the far left of the circle, demons perpetually torment a lustful couple, naked in bed. In the foreground, a naked pair cannot avoid seeing their hideous reflections in a convex mirror held by a monstrous hybrid. The toad resting on the woman's genitals and the scarcely feathered bird adjacent to the man reinforce the grotesque contents of their inescapable gaze. According to medieval

(Ithaca, 1996), pp. 39–43, 161–203.

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folklore, rebel angels, filled with pride and no longer able to recognize the glory of God, fell like toads from heaven into the valley of hell. Consequently, the toad represented here may have recalled notions of pride as the foremost of vices. Meanwhile, at the upper right, a demon holding a gigantic knife prepares to attack the irate man who is stretched out on a slate, while a lizard creeps up the plane, ready to bite its helpless victim. Finally, near the top of the roundel, envious figures are dismembered by a pack of dogs, an ironic parody of canines fighting over a bone. These participants in the seven deadly sins are not the only ones punished here. Additional tormented souls reside in this nightmarish setting. Partially submerged figures swim in the depths of hell, alongside of demons. In the background, punished souls are brought to gallows, while demons, on the far left, lead another victim of sin through the gates of hell. Surveying the consequences of vice, it is hoped, will encourage beholders to do the right thing, to look at Christ and imitate his example.

Let us return to Foucault again for a moment. As you may recall, Foucault's panopticon does not give love and his observer cannot feel loved. On the one hand, this interpretation seems to resonate with the reception of Bosch's *Tabletop*. Devout viewers, assumed to be tainted by sin, are expected to conform with Christ, who is always better than they can be. In addition, the inscription explicitly warns observers that God is watching them. However, there is an important difference between Foucault's panopticon and Bosch's God. For Bosch, the search for conformity with Christ does not simply imply the acquisition of desired qualities. In fact, such an understanding might encourage cupidity, excessive longings associated with vice. Pious beholders trying to mirror themselves after Christ are called to sacrifice themselves for others, that is to say, empty themselves out of love for God and neighbor. In Bosch's painting, those preoccupied with vice are the living dead, breathing, but already condemned, awaiting a place in hell. Unable to respond to God, their souls have passed away. By contrast, viewers of the *Tabletop* are asked to become dead to the temptations of worldly desires, so that they can live forever.

The gaze of Christ calls the identity of beholders into question. Not only does it ask observers to be penitent and change their ways, but it also invites them to identify with Christ through empathy, to sacrifice themselves and let him enter into their hearts. Such hospitality, however, is not easily made available, for sin, it is believed, has hardened the heart. For the guest of empathy to arrive, hearts must be opened, something one cannot simply do on one's own. Transformation depends on an initial act of grace provided by the incoming guest. In Book Nine of his *Confessiones*, Saint Augustine describes the moment just after conversion, when spiritual love has penetrated the innermost self. As he puts it, 'You had shot through our hearts with your charity, and we carried about with us your words like arrows fixed deep in our flesh'.[30] Spiritual love

30 Augustine of Hippo, *Confessionum libri* ix.2, ed. M. Skutella, p. 134: 'Sagittaueras tu cor nostrum caritate tua, et gestabamus uerba tua transfixa uisceribus . . .'. English translation by R. Warner, *The Confessions of St Augustine* (New York, 1963), p. 185.

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leaves a mark in the heart; it makes a wounding impression. In response, the devout are expected to empty themselves and make room for God.

In addition, Bosch would have recognized a connection between the wheel-like shape of the central roundel and the art of memory.[31] The wheel, or *rota* in Latin, suggests not only the turning or rotation of a world-upside-down, but also patterned repetitions or routines. During the late Middle Ages, diagrams of wheels consisting of numerous concentric circles were frequently used as complex mnemonic devices for remembering the order of things. Although the *Tabletop* is much simpler than these, it may have functioned in an analogous manner. In a sense, Bosch's painting reminds viewers to avoid certain routines, such as those identified with the seven deadly sins, and embrace other routines, namely, virtues conducted in imitation of Christ.

Bosch's panel offers viewers a reminder of mortality, a chance to turn the tables on the vices. During the Middle Ages, memory was often conceived in terms of an internal space, a multi-chambered place where tidbits of information are mentally stored.[32] Memory was not divorced from imagination or invention; it entailed practicing common sense, making sound judgments in searching for pertinent items and discovering worthwhile connections between them. The art of memory was a matter of knowing where and how to look. Although memory could easily become a habit, it could never be, strictly speaking, a simple routine. Learning things by rote, by mere repetition, was not considered memory, but the reiteration of sense-experience.[33] Although the wheel in Bosch's painting may have functioned as a mnemonic device, it did not simply show facts of life to be remembered. On the contrary, it fostered greater contemplation through the art of memory by offering viewers food for thought.

Since Antiquity, it has been commonplace to believe that we memorize and learn things by heart. In Latin, to recall something is *recordare*, literally to give it back to the *cor*, or heart. Throughout the Old Testament, the heart is frequently described as a tablet where ideally the Decalogue is internalized and inscribed within humanity. Saint Paul transformed this metaphor, calling attention to its flesh, the heart's malleability, its ability to be reconfigured by the presence of Christ and the Holy Spirit.[34] In his *Confessiones* and elsewhere, Saint Augustine is intensely preoccupied with the heart as the site of the innermost self;

31 M. Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature 10 (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 19–20, 252.

32 Ibid., pp. 33–45. As Carruthers points out, medieval writers used a variety of spatial metaphors to describe memory. Memories were said to be contained with *arcae* (arks or chests), *cellae* (cells or stalls), *sacculi* (moneybags), *scrinia* (book or letter cases) and *thesauri* (storehouses or treasuries). In *Confessionum libri* x.8, ed. Skutella, p. 161, Augustine, for instance, refers to the great palaces of memory, 'ubi sunt thesauri innumerabilium imaginum' ('where lie the treasures of innumerable images'). English translation by R. Warner, *The Confessions of St Augustine*, p. 217.

33 F. A. Yates, *The Art of Memory* (Chicago, 1966), pp. 50–82.

34 E. Jager, *The Book of the Heart* (Chicago, 2000), pp. 2–5.

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it is, in his words, 'where I am whatever I am'.[35] According to Augustine, our hearts inscribe our relationship with God – what sin erases, grace restores. The heart is the place where we recollect who we are and learn how to love God and one another. Bosch's painting appears to promote such an understanding. By meditating on the seven vices and their relationship to the last things and to the Man of Sorrow, Bosch provides viewers a meaningful heuristic device, helping them to remember the consequences of sin and the saving power of grace, and to take this information to heart.

Bosch's painting can be interpreted in a variety of ways, in part because it appeals to matters of the heart and the art of memory. The *Tabletop* appears to have been well suited to fit the expectations of the Spanish monarch Felipe II, who advocated strict adherence to Catholic orthodoxy and traditional codes of virtuous behavior. Bosch's panel and its Latin inscriptions admonish beholders to be wary, to be on guard, for God is always watching, and they warn observers against those who lack wisdom, who fail to discern their latter end. However, the image can also accommodate a less legalistic interpretation. After all, virtue, like memory, demands more than simply following routines. It should be performed from the heart rather than merely out of duty. On their own, rules are never virtuous enough. Acting virtuously simply because it is the right thing to do does not really make one virtuous; virtue has to come from the heart. Like memory, exercising virtue is an art. Following the law in blind faith denies virtue. Proper behavior demands forethought and a heartfelt consideration of others. Bosch's painting may have encouraged beholders to remember the gift of mercy, such as that offered by the Man of Sorrows, and motivated them to be more charitable, to practice the virtue of love more intensely. In other words, Bosch's panel may have persuaded some viewers not only to avoid vice in their lives, but also to be, like Christ, more compassionate and forgiving.

Perhaps it will help us understand the function of the eye in Bosch's *Tabletop* if we compare it with another representation of eyeballs. A small pen and brown ink drawing (Plate 11.6), less than eight by five inches in scale, may provide us with clues. The work, completed around 1510, is currently housed in Berlin and appears to be by Bosch's hand, despite the presence of the inauthentic signature below. The drawing is based on a Netherlandish proverb, 'The field has eyes, the forest has ears, I will see, be silent and listen' ('Dat velt ogen, dat wolt heft oren, Ick will sien, swijgen ende horen').[36] Whereas the *Tabletop* shows how the divine sees the world, this image represents how the world looks at us. The inscription at the top of the image, which was likely produced by the master's hand, quotes from a popular thirteenth-century treatise wrongly attributed to Boethius entitled *De disciplina scholarium* (*On the Discipline of Young Scholars*). It reads, 'Indeed, it is the nature of the most wretched sort of character, always

35 Augustine, *Confessionum libri* x.3, ed. Skutella, p. 156: 'ubi ego sum quicumque.'

36 *The Age of Bruegel: Netherlandish Drawings in the Sixteenth Century*, exhibition catalogue, ed. J. Hand *et al.* (Washington, 1986), pp. 76–8.

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Plate 11.6. Hieronymus Bosch, *The Field has Eyes, the Forest has Ears*, *c*. 1500.
Pen and brown ink on paper, 8 x 5 in.
Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin.
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to use that which has been invented and never to invent' ('Miserrimi quippe est ingenii semper uti inventis et numquam inveniendis').[37] Traditionally, art historians have read this inscription as Bosch's critique of unimaginative artists, those who lack innovation and fantasy. However, Bosch's words may also address unimaginative spectators, those who lack ingenuity or the skills necessary for critical interpretation.

In this drawing, the woods have ears and the field has eyes. Bosch has represented the words of the proverb literally, in an apparently straightforward fashion devoid of metaphorical association. And yet, his seemingly literal interpretation is quite inventive, for rather than merely copying the saying word for word, he has visualized it, which incidentally makes the proverb more memorable. His drawing differs from the proverb in ways that extend well beyond the difference between words and images. Although the proverb does not mention the number of eyes or ears in the forest or field, the drawing includes two ears and seven eyes. At first glance, the number of eyes may recall the number of vices. However, it is important to remember that virtues and days of the week also number seven. The number of eyes likely corresponds to the biblical number of completeness rather than to the number of vices per se.

Bosch has also included additional elements in his visualization of the proverbial saying. Standing in the hollow of a dead tree, an apparently all-seeing owl stares back at the viewer. Although the bird looks somewhat cute and harmless, it is deceptively dangerous. Unlike Greek culture, where the owl of Minerva was associated with wisdom, Netherlandish culture linked this creature of the night with evil and misfortune. Averse to light, the owl makes its home in the ruins of the tree, waiting for nightfall, the moment it can prey on the weak and vulnerable.

In the upper branches of the dead tree, four other birds appear. Although some birds will attack owls in daylight, these birds just sit there. On the right side of the tree, one bird idly perches on a branch, while another pecks for insects. To the far left, a bird seems to scold the owl. However, the cackling bird does not appear ready to fight or defend itself. It seems only to make noises rather than silently listen or watch for trouble. The adjacent bird is no better; it appears to pay more attention to the squawking bird than to the quiet owl below.

At the base of the tree, a fox pretends not to notice the immediate presence of a rooster. Like the devil, the clever fox seems to ignore his prey in hopes of capturing it. Whether the cock, a creature often associated with foolish pride, will escape the fox's clutches remains doubtful. Bosch's drawing implies that human beings, like the stupid rooster, are easy prey for evil, for they are susceptible to seduction, especially when their guard is down.[38]

37 Ibid., p. 78.

38 Ibid., p. 76. For an alternative interpretation of this drawing as a humanist pun on the artist's hometown of 's-Hertogenbosch, see J. Koldeweij, P. Vandenbroeck and B. Vermet, *Hieronymus Bosch: The Complete Paintings and Drawings* (Ghent, 2001), pp. 25–7.

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Throughout the image, Bosch asks his viewers to be vigilant. The eyes of the world are always looking for ways to take advantage of those who are not watching. Bosch's drawing warns observers not to take the deceptive words and tempting images of the world as truths. Unlike the eye of God, the eyes and ears of the world are heartless and unforgiving; they offer no love or mercy, only death and misery. Bosch's drawing implores viewers to keep their eyes wide open, for the world will also look at them as prey and will never, like God, look after them. It reminds observers to see all, hear all and say nothing.

In conclusion, both the *Tabletop* and the drawing were produced for a well-educated audience, who were encouraged to keep their wits about them, to look carefully and silently listen. Bosch's viewers were also reminded to see the eye of God and those of the world differently.

Bosch's *Tabletop* has often been described in rather straightforward terms, interpreted as an admonition against sinful ways in preparation for the Final Judgment before an omnipresent, omnivoyant and omniscient God.[39] Although the panel promotes penitential transformation through rejection of the seven deadly sins, it may not have simply asked beholders to learn from seeing the vice of others and follow proper rules of conduct. It may have also encouraged observers to reexamine their hearts and may have even revealed how love and mercy can potentially trump moralistic codes of behavior without negating them. In other words, the painting may not merely advocate a particular set of habits or routines. On the contrary, the panel may have called beholders to reconsider more intensely the relationship between spiritual love, represented by Christ as the Man of Sorrows at the panel's center, and normative behavior. To make viewers more accountable for their actions, it may have invited them to discover the path of charity by showing them the gift of grace, available to those who seek Christ rather than vice.

For Bosch, the eye of God, like the eyes of the world, is always looking at us. We are under constant surveillance; there is no escape. Yet, unlike worldly perspectives, the divine gaze is compassion, willing to suffer with and for others. Not only is Christ coming to judge, he has also paradoxically already arrived, offering the devout protection by watching over them, preserving them from the depths of hell and ultimate death. The gift of forgiveness makes Bosch's panopticon quite different from the one described by Foucault. Bosch's all-seeing eye, unlike those of the world, provides the possibility of a look of love, one capable of extending blessings. The Man of Sorrows gazes at viewers, inviting those who have received grace to see with the eyes of their hearts and return the favor by offering greater love to God and neighbor.

39 L. Dixon, *Bosch* (London, 2003), pp. 42–55.

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CHAPTER TWELVE

Singing Sin: Michel Beheim's 'Little Book of the Seven Deadly Sins', A German Pre-Reformation Religious Text for the Laity

William C. McDonald, University of Virginia

Michel Beheim (d. *c*. 1474), a wandering performer and poet who composed song-poems for laypersons of the highest social strata in an age of budding literacy and nascent book publishing, wrote a song-cycle in German on the seven deadly sins which he called a 'Little Book' (*buchlin*). His source text was the *Erchantnuzz der sund* (*Knowledge of Sin*), a prose manual in the German vernacular from the previous century usually attributed to the theologian and professor at the University of Vienna, Heinrich von Langenstein (d. 1397). Beheim, viewing himself as theologian, pedagogue and spiritual physician to the laity in one person, drastically edits and versifies portions of the *Erchantnuzz der sund,* setting prose into rhymed passages on the sins that either can be read as a kind of devotional manual or sung in public performance. Beheim interprets pride and lust to be the most pernicious of the deadly sins.

Michel Beheim (d. *c*. 1474) was a prolific author, musical composer and promoter of lay spirituality in pre-Reformation Germany who is most closely associated with Habsburg Vienna.[1] His audience was composed of the political elite of his day, the highest lay nobles at ducal, royal and imperial courts. Beheim's work is important both for his chronicles and historical songs, among which is a song-poem on the fifteenth-century Dracula, Vlad the Impaler, and for his self-conscious and ambitious acts of literary conservation. Author of over 450 works (most of which he scrupulously recorded himself in manuscripts), he recapitulates, synthesizes and preserves the major poetic forms regnant in the German Middle Ages. Besides chronicles, Beheim composed political poems, love songs, fables with morals, moral and ethical poetry, autobiographical

1 The standard secondary work is by W. C. McDonald, *'Whose Bread I Eat': The Song-Poetry of Michel Beheim* (Göppingen, 1981). Recently, see F. Niemeyer, *Ich, Michel Pehn: Zum Kunst- und Rollenverständnis des meisterlichen Berufsdichters Michel Beheim* (Frankfurt/Main, 2001).

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song, ballads, advice to princes, *exempla*, lyrics to the Virgin Mary bordering on Mariolatry, and religious song-cycles. One such cycle, which Beheim calls a *Little Book on the Seven Deadly Sins* (*Buchlin von den siben tat sunden*) – henceforth the Little Book – is the topic of the present paper. Here, as elsewhere, Beheim sees his role as compiler and adapter of homiletic texts that he re-frames in the vernacular, in simple and direct speech.

Beheim assumes the mantle of a conservator of faith. Conformist and conservative to the extreme, he introduces himself in one song as the fervent opponent of heresy:

> Hie wil ich, Michel Pehamer,
> mit singen machen offennper,
> wie checzer und auch czauberer
> manchen menschen petoren. (235, 1–4)[2]

('Here I, Michel Beheim, wish, with singing, to reveal how heretics and conjurers befool many a person.')

In another (96), Beheim praises the University of Vienna (founded 1365) for rooting out adherents of John Hus and John Wycliffe. And in a third (309b), he rails against Jews and Turks, advocating their speedy obedience to Rome. Just as Beheim seeks to defend the established Church, protecting it in song from dissent and blasphemy, he is an archivist with respect to literary and musical forms. One of his projects is the musical setting for the theme of the Little Book. With singing he thus battles heresy and sin.

The Little Book, like his other song-poems, is incorporated in a *Ton*, an original musical and metrical schema. Thus his verses – whether these concern the nativity or a catalogue of patrons for his art – are fit for performance in song. As a kind of foreword to one of his works, Beheim makes an extraordinary statement regarding the choice of an aesthetic medium, aural or visual, emphasizing:

> . . . daz man es lesen mag als ain gereimptes puch oder singen als ain lied, und wer es singen well, der heb es in disen noten hie dishalb an. (453)

('. . . that one can read it as a rhymed book or can sing it as a song. He who wants to sing it should proceed with the following notes.')

Here, Beheim offers his audience the surprising option of a song without music.[3] Recognizing that some might prefer to encounter his rhymed song-

[2] All German quotations are from the edition *Die Gedichte des Michel Beheim*, ed. H. Gille and I. Spriewald, 3 vols. (Berlin, 1968–72). The first number is the song-poem, the second the verses. English translations are my own.

[3] For a discussion of the modes of singing and reading in Beheim's work, see M. G. Scholz, *Zum Verhältnis von Mäzen, Autor und Publikum im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert* (Darmstadt, 1987); and I. Spriewald, *Literatur zwischen Hören und Lesen: Wandel von Funktion und Rezeption im späten Mittelalter: Fallstudien zu Beheim, Folz und Sachs*

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texts as private reading material, that is, as *lectio* and not as musical offerings in a communal setting, he allows the individual audience member to decide which mode of presentation is appropriate. One can plausibly conjecture that he extended the option of reading or hearing his verses to his entire corpus, thereby challenging the primacy of musical entertainment – even of music itself as a necessary attendant to a song-text. Literature bare of music accordingly encourages silent reflection on the moral precepts that so much of Beheim's work conveys, reflection sufficient for the lay reader to resolve to lead a pious and useful life. The option for reading also makes the Little Book a true book, a kind of religious pamphlet or manual, but in manuscript form. The reader might pore over the lines of text, returning to certain passages for knowledge of individual sins.

The readers Beheim has in mind were those where he received support and lodging. Although urban patronage is attested, his chief sponsors included dukes, kings and no less a figure than the Holy Roman Emperor himself, Frederick III of Habsburg (d. 1493), who resided in Graz, Linz and Vienna. Such courts were a heterogeneous group, primarily secular, but including also a minority of individuals who held religious office. Those attending a musical performance were spectators at a public event that might feature a patriotic song on the imperial coat-of-arms (266) or a theological topic as profound as why God desired to be born as a small child (120). But secular or mixed secular-religious performances were not Beheim's only option. At times, depending on the Church calendar, he perhaps delivered a sacred performance only, singing from the Little Book, for example. Whatever the repertoire at a given public performance, we should recall that the same song-texts might be read in private.

Beheim worked near or during the age of Gutenberg, that is, after about 1455, and the invention of movable type. Pre-Lutheran bibles in the German language began appearing as printed books in 1462, while Beheim was in Habsburg Vienna, performing song-texts for Empress Eleonore.[4] What Beheim shares with the book publishers of vernacular Scriptures is the conviction that the German language is a theological language, capable of expressing the spiritual sense of Latin and Greek – an idea that continued to be controversial throughout the fifteenth century. Unlike the book publishers, however, he does not attempt to place the Gospel itself in the hands of the laity; rather, he offers a selection of biblical material, told in his own way, in a self-recorded manuscript.

(Berlin, 1990). On the musical aspect of Beheim's work, see H. Brunner, 'Die frühen Töne Michel Beheims', in *Wort unde wîse, singen unde sagen: Festschrift für Ulrich Müller zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. I. Bennewitz (Göppingen, 2007), pp. 1–10; and H. Brunner, 'Strukturprobleme der Epenmelodien', in *Annäherungen: Studien zur deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. H. Brunner (Berlin, 2008), pp. 201–23.

4 F. Schanze, *Meisterliche Liedkunst zwischen Heinrich von Mügeln und Hans Sachs: Band I: Untersuchungen* (München, 1983), p. 188. Schanze gives the most complete chronology of Beheim's career.

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Sacred texts hold the commanding position in Beheim's work. Borrowing the literary convention of numinous inspiration, he links his name to sacred-song poetry inspired by God and meant to propagate his word (cf. 71, 1–10). As editor and theological popularizer, Beheim offers a select audience in the highest lay circles the lineaments of devotional practice and the precepts for leading a Christian life. The range of religious topics is vast, stretching from God's existence before creation (2) to the Antichrist (355). Indeed, the breadth of salvation history is to be found in his compendium of verses, from creation and the fall of man to the last judgment. The pious layman in his audience therefore receives a sacred *summa* as instruction manual, in very condensed form, the shorter songs averaging about eighty verses. The value and truth of his work Beheim measures by its ability to encourage self-examination and piety in his audience.

These tendencies place Michel Beheim's words squarely within a fifteenth-century branch of theology that emphasizes practical aspects of doctrine and practice. Berndt Hamm has spoken eloquently of this movement as the theology of piety (*Frömmigkeitstheologie)*.[5] Under the code-words 'the practical realization of religion', Hamm describes this movement in Beheim's era, noting:

> Theological knowledge and spiritual experience were boiled down and reduced to those elements considered primary to the didactics of 'piety'. . . [This was] a wide-sweeping attempt toward the 'normative centering' of theology and piety – 'normative', in that it involved standards, rules and orientation aids for leading a Christian life; 'centering', in that a reduction of themes and concepts occurred at the pivotal discursive level of what ensured salvation, a reduction that emphasized above all else the Passion of Christ and the co-redeemer Mary, the mercy of God and the repentance of man.[6]

Since the audience of the theology of piety included laypersons besides those with religious vocations but limited theological training, Beheim's sacred verses locate him in the mainstream of a movement that has heretofore drawn scholarly attention to its theologians and preachers. But ecclesiastics were not the only proponents of the theology of piety, and research is needed on pre-Reformation poets who propagated the tenets of the *praxis pietatis* among the laity. Beheim was one of these, assuming the mantle of the poet-as-lay-

5 See, especially, B. Hamm, *Frömmigkeitstheologie am Anfang des 16. Jahhunderts: Studien von Johannes von Paltz und seinem Umkreis* (Tübingen, 1982); and Hamm, '"Was ist Frömmigkeitstheologie?" Überlegungen zum 14. bis 16. Jahrhundert', in *Praxis Pietatis: Beiträge zu Theologie und Frömmigkeit in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. H.-J. Nieden and M. Nieden (Stuttgart, 1999), pp. 9–45. For a general treatment of the late medieval theology of piety, see the volume *Laienfrömmigkeit im späten Mittelalter: Formen, Funktionen, politisch-soziale Zusammenhänge*, ed. K. Schreiner (Oldenburg, 1992).

6 B. Hamm, *The Reformation of Faith in the Context of Late Medieval Theology and Piety: Essays by Berndt Hamm*, ed. R. J. Bast (Leiden, 2004), pp. 19–22.

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theologian who, through song and literature, was teacher and preacher in lay circles.

Oddly, Beheim conceals the names of his source texts beyond the Vulgate, an act that goes against the rhetorical practice of the age. Following the dictates of *auctoritas*, poets proudly acknowledged dependence on sources in order to confer credibility on their words. But Beheim is so secretive that it was only in the 1970s that scholars succeeded in identifying some primary material that he adapted for sacred song.[7] Perhaps, in neglecting to name his sources, Beheim hoped to appear more learned than he was. In any event, he conducted a sophisticated search for documents – usually prose texts – that affirmed established doctrine. One example is Beheim's extended song-cycle *Von den Juden* (*Concerning the Jews*), comprising thirty-one individual song-poems (nos. 203–34). The chief source for it is the *Epistel des Rabbi Samuel an Rabbi Isaac*, a fourteenth-century prose tractate translated into German by the cleric Irmhart Öser.[8] A tendentious work that belongs to the tradition of *adversus Iudaeos*-writing, the *Epistel* is meant to undermine the Jewish claim of a special covenant with God and to criticize Jews for being a people of the law.

Here and elsewhere, Beheim understands his art to involve four stages. First, he researches and selects sacred material that promotes knowledge of God and inhibits sin. He is in an important sense a *compilator,* as Alastair J. Minnis understands the term, a poet-composer whose literary activity was animated by the 'desire to make authoritative material more easily accessible'.[9] Second, he versifies his sources, framing his borrowings in rhyme. The process of versification is complex, involving adaptation – usually a significant shortening of the source. The editing process embraces excision and interpolation, as in his version of the *Epistel* when he interjects a stream of invective. Third, he creates a musical framework suitable to the verse and subject matter of his poems, turning them into songs. He thus sets every word to music. The musical-metrical matrix for the *Epistel* is his *Verkehrte Weise* (literally: inverted or contorted melody), employed for over a hundred songs dating from 1454 to as late as 1470. Fourth, he consistently affixes a moral to his sentiments, an apothegm that can be applied in the daily life and devotional practice of his audience. For example, at the conclusion of his song-poem *Von der kinthait unsers hern* (*Concerning the Childhood of Our Lord*), he leaves the audience with the maxim that all persons must take refuge in God, for no one is sufficiently holy to rely on his own power and strength (82, 704–8).

7 See, especially, B. Wachinger, 'Michel Beheim: Prosabuchquellen-Liedvortrag-Buchüberlieferung', in *Poesie und Gebrauchsliteratur im deutschen Mittelalter: Würzburger Colloquium 1978*, ed V. Honemann, K. Ruh, B. Schnell and W. Wegstein (Tübingen, 1979), pp. 37–75. Not all sources are known.

8 M. Niesner, 'Die "Contra-Judaeos-Lieder" des Michel Beheim. Zur Rezeption Irmhart Ösers und des Österreichischen Bibelübersetzers im 15. Jahrhundert', *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 126 (2004), 398–424.

9 A. J. Minnis, 'Late Medieval Discussions of *Compilatio* and the Role of the *Compilator*', *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 101 (1979), 386.

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Beheim applies the melody and rhyme-scheme of the *Epistel* to his Little Book, viewing both works as lessons to the laity on proper comportment. References to sin course through his work, for example, a reference to Adam and Eve as having initiated sin (75, 154–5) or a short song-poem on three capital vices: pride, avarice and lust (95). But Beheim does not fix his attention on the topic of the sins until the Little Book, where he treats the traditional heptad of capital vices: pride (*superbia*), envy (*invidia)*, wrath *(ira*), avarice (*avaritia*), gluttony (*gula*), lust (*luxuria*) and sloth (*accidia*). Richard Newhauser gives the best modern summary of the deadly sins, which he correctly links to the 'civilizing process' associated with Norbert Elias. Newhauser argues that the primary purpose of our 'catalogue of moral concepts was to anchor a spiritual perspective in everyday life, and it was articulated as universally applicable in that it claimed to represent in the realm of ethics what was socially acceptable for all of Christendom. The vices . . . functioned as part of the apparatus of (self-) control . . .'[10] The seven sins, beginning as 'ascetic discipline' (p. x), evolve in the hands of John Cassian, Gregory the Great and William Peraldus, primarily, into moral guidelines of what is to be avoided by all strata of society.

In manuscripts, Beheim places his Little Book in roughly the middle of his corpus. Before it are other sacred song-texts, for instance verses on the sacraments and the goodness of God, as well as lines devoted to the Virgin Mary. After it are the *Epistel*, scolding poems addressing the Turks and a verse-*exemplum* on death. Thus embedded in a decidedly religious framework, Beheim's Little Book emerges as a manual, a kind of religious handbook on conduct and moral responsibility in the world. This purpose of meditative text emerges most strongly when he writes a concluding song-poem specifically calling his cycle on the deadly sins a *buch*.[11] Whether the idea for his Little Book arose with Beheim himself or with his patrons is impossible to tell. The function of the Little Book is plain enough, however. Using a web of warning examples, Church doctrine, crude animal imagery, moral admonition and passionate rhetoric, he aims to educate his audience on the dangers of vice. The message is thus practical, rooted in the belief that laying out the mechanisms inhibiting humanity's path to righteousness should inspire enough horror to cause the avoidance of sin. Such avoidance will, by regulating human behavior, provide the contours of community norms.[12]

10 'Introduction', in *Garden of Evil*, viii. In this paper I adopt Newhauser's use of the term 'lust' for *luxuria*; earlier scholars employ the term 'lechery'.

11 Song 202*: 'Der besluss über dis buch' ('The conclusion of this book'). Note that Beheim includes this song-poem only in Manuscript D (= Heidelberg, UB cod. Pal. germ. 382). This manuscript contains only verses in Beheim's 'verkehrte Weise', and is thus an abridged version of his works, focusing on the deadly sins, Jews and heretics. The order of the sins, which differs from that of Beheim's other manuscripts is here: pride, envy, wrath, sloth, gluttony, lust and avarice – hence, avarice and sloth exchange places.

12 See the general theoretical material by S. Wenzel, 'The Continuing Life of William Peraldus's *Summa vitiorum*', in *Ad litteram: Authoritative Texts and their Medieval Readers*, ed. M. D. Jordan and K. Emery, Jr (Notre Dame, IN, 1992), pp. 135–63.

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The Little Book is loosely based on part of a vernacular treatise from the previous century, the *Erchantnuzz der sund* (*Knowledge of Sin*), which is attested in almost eighty manuscripts in Habsburg lands. The *Erchantnuzz* is attributed to Heinrich von Langenstein (also known as Henricus de Hassia, d. 1397), a confidant of the ruling Habsburg dukes, who was a prominent theologian, Church diplomat, professor and rector of the University of Vienna.[13] He had formerly taught in Paris. Heinrich is chiefly known for works in Latin, including a commentary on Genesis and sermons for the conversion of the Jews. Nowhere does Beheim acknowledge that he has gleaned the material for his Little Book from prose literature in German. The *Erchantnuzz* (*c.* 1390) is described by Richard Newhauser as a 'penitential manual composed of . . . two parts: an introduction to penance (based on Raymund of Pennaforte's *Summa de poenitentia et matrimonio* and John of Freiburg's *summa* for confessors) and a catalogue of the seven deadly sins (which depends on Peraldus)'.[14] The message of the *Erchantnuzz* is straightforward: the audience is to avoid the deadly sins because they please the devil and displease God, and because they harm the sinner and the sinner's neighbor.

This prose tractate is the crown jewel of the Viennese School, a fourteenth-century movement of pastoral theology centered at the University of Vienna whose most prominent members were Heinrich von Langenstein, Ulrich von Pottenstein, Nikolaus von Dinkelsbühl, Thomas Ebendorfer and Thomas Peuntner.[15] Helmut Puff concisely describes their activities:

> A circle of Austrian clerics who were among the first to make the vast body of theological manuals in Latin available to a German reading audience – an undertaking with few precedents . . . The so-called Viennese School contributed significantly to popularizing religious doctrine in the vernacular . . . The circle's devotional writings count among the most widely disseminated fifteenth-century texts and shaped the late medieval German religious discourse for the laity.[16]

13 See *Heinrichs von Langenstein 'Unterscheidung der Geister', lateinisch und deutsch: Texte und Untersuchungen zu Übersetzungsliteratur aus der Wiener Schule*, ed. T. Hohmann (Zürich, 1977); G. Roth, *Sündenspiegel im 15. Jahrhundert: Untersuchungen zum pseudo-augustinischen 'Speculum peccatoris' in deutscher Überlieferung* (Bern, 1991), pp. 169–73; and K. Wolf, *Hof-Universität-Laien* (Wiesbaden, 2006). Heinrich wrote the text in Latin, which does not survive; the translation was completed by Marquard von Randegg. See Wolf, *Hof-Universität-Laien*, pp. 313–26; P. Wiesinger, 'Zur Autorschaft und Entstehung des Heinrich von Langenstein zugeschriebenen Traktats "Erkenntnis der Sünde"', *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* 97 (1978), 42–60. The critical edition of the *Erchantnuzz der sund* is by P. R. Rudolf (Berlin, 1969).

14 Newhauser, *Treatise*, p. 85.

15 See T. Hohmann, 'Deutsche Texte aus der "Wiener Schule" als Quelle für Michel Beheims religiöse Gedichte', *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum* 107.4 (1978), 319–30.

16 H. Puff, *Sodomy in Reformation Germany and Switzerland, 1400–1600* (Chicago, 2003), pp. 58–9. Strangely, Puff, although aware of Michel Beheim, fails to cite his cycle on the deadly sins, one song-poem of which attacks sodomy. Regarding this topic, see my essay: 'Michel Beheim's Literary Assault on the "Sin against Nature". A Neglected 15th-Century Text on Sodomy', *Daphnis* 38 (2009), 399–420.

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This is precisely Beheim's mission and his goal a half century after the Viennese School had been in flower. He sought, in its spirit and with its Augustinian tenor, to popularize devotional literature and Church doctrine, electing to revive Heinrich's discussion of the deadly sins, this time as a song or as a meditative reading text, at the highest lay courts. Recall that Beheim lauds the University of Vienna and its faculty in a song-poem that mentions preaching as an activity there (96, 49). In fact, in other poems he returns to the School for inspiration, adapting Thomas Peuntner's *Büchlein von der Liebhabung Gottes* (*Little Book on Loving God*) and sermons by Nikolaus von Dinkelsbühl, or more properly, by the redactor of Nikolaus von Dinkelsbühl. Once again, Beheim versifies and sets to music fourteenth-century vernacular prose texts, and once again he conceals his sources. In reviving catechetical literature from the Viennese School, Beheim presents it, altered, to a later generation of the lay nobility, seeing his own function as pastor in song.

The *Erchantnuzz*, the title of which is a play both on the Senecean formulation, *cognitio peccati*, and Romans 3. 20: 'per legem enim cognitio peccati' ('for knowledge of sin is through the law'), is directed to the very class of lay nobles for whom Beheim intended his own work some decades later. Both texts are driven by paraenetical impulses. Just as Heinrich von Langenstein strove to bring forth, in the words of Fritz Peter Knapp, 'religiöse Fürstenunterweisung' ('religious instruction of rulers'),[17] so, too, did Beheim adapt and transform the *Erchantnuzz* for the edification of a new generation of the ruling elite. Heinrich, who dedicates his manual to the Habsburg dukes, delineates the capital vices with order, logic and supporting citations from authorities, arguing, with a scholastic apparatus, from the standpoint of reason.[18] The audience learns the characteristics of individual sins, the branches of each, the arguments against a particular vice and the remedy for it. Robert J. Bast, describing the *Erchantnuzz* as 'rigorist' in respect to sin, notes that Heinrich von Langenstein's guide to penance 'argues for the insufficiency of the Church's minimal requirements for confession, stresses the spiritual horrors of mortal sins unconfessed and unsatisfied, and thereby tries to draw his readers more fully under the penitential system of moral accountability'.[19]

17 F. P. Knapp, 'Pfaffen und Laien: Literarisches Leben im spätmittelalterlichen Wien zur Zeit Albrechts III. (1365–1395)', in *Höfische Literatur und Klerikerkultur: Wissen – Bildung – Gesellschaft. Xth Triennial Conference der Internationalen Gesellschaft für höfische Literatur (ICLS) vom 28. Juli bis 3. August 2001 in Tübingen*, ed. A. Sieber and I. Kasten, 'Encomia-Deutsch': Sonderheft 2 der deutschen Sektion der International Courtly Literature Society (Berlin, 2002), 11–24 (p. 21).

18 The scholastic nature of Langenstein's work appears clearly when it is compared to another vernacular text based largely on the same major sources, namely Geoffrey Chaucer's 'Parson's Tale'; see R. Newhauser, 'The Parson's Tale and Its Generic Affiliations', in *Closure in The Canterbury Tales: The Role of The Parson's Tale,* ed. D. Raybin and L. T. Holley (Kalamazoo, 2000), pp. 45–76; reprint in Newhauser, *Sin*, essay IV.

19 R. J. Bast, *Honor your Fathers: Catechisms and the Emergence of a Patriarchal Ideology in Germany 1400–1600* (Leiden, 1997), p. 165.

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The *Erchantnuzz* itself is very much indebted to a popular text on the sins, as noted above, the thirteenth-century Latin treatise *Summa vitiorum* by the French Dominican William Peraldus. Peraldus lists the vices in the following order, placing gluttony first and wrath last: *gula, luxuria, avaritia, acedia, superbia, invidia, ira*.[20] The *Erchantnuzz* imitates this sequence, which begins in accordance with the Cassianic order of the capital vices in Latin from the fifth century on: gluttony, lechery and greed. John Cassian places gluttony first because, in the words of Siegfried Wenzel, 'the struggle against sin had to start with controlling one's bodily desires'.[21]

The fact that Beheim's Little Book is no mere versification of the *Erchantnuzz* is evident from its very first verse. He begins with the capital sin of pride, revising the order of succession of the deadly sins. In this, he follows both the Holy Writ ('initium peccati omnis superbia', 'for the root of all sin is pride', Sirach 10. 15) and the first three sins in the order proposed by Gregory the Great (d. 604) in his *Moralia in Job*: pride, envy and wrath (*superbia, invidia, ira*). The order of his treatment of the sins is suggested by their alignment with the 'three enemies of man', in which the sins are apportioned to the Devil (pride, envy, wrath), the World (avarice) or the Flesh (gluttony, lust, sloth).[22] By rejecting the order of sins in the *Erchantnuzz* and placing hubris first in the list of vices, Beheim signals that vainglory, the sin of Lucifer, is the most dangerous transgression of divine law that humanity must overcome on the path to spiritual perfection. Pride, by placing humanity out-of-order in the universe and in relation to his creator, is not only the root of all evil for Beheim; it also shapes his understanding of his poetic office. He is a warrior in verse against the sin that would deny human limitation. To be sure, bodily desires and the lower appetites greatly concern him, attested by the sin he judges almost the equal of pride in deleterious effects, lust. Sexual desire and the behavior proceeding from it weave through his song-poetry and materially influence his view on humanity's ability to manage temptation. Guided by the sentiment he borrows from his source text, Beheim believes that humanity is its own worst enemy, causing harm to itself through sin: 'dem menschen ist schedlicher nicht / dann er selber' ('nothing is more harmful to mankind than man himself'; 197, 54–5). Of these harms, carnal pleasure and pride vie for supremacy in evil in the Little Book. Ultimately, it is the haughty spirit, the puffing up of oneself in deadly arrogance, at which Beheim takes most offense. Pride destroys the Christ-like virtue of humility to which humankind must aspire. In Beheim's eyes, a major exemplar of pride, and the very anti-type to the Savior, is the presumptuous Alexander the Great, who, driven on by inordinate ambition, serves as a warning example for his faithful (164, 87).

20 Hohmann, 'Deutsche Texte aus der Wiener Schule', p. 320.
21 Wenzel, 'The Continuing Life of William Peraldus's *Summa vitiorum*', p. 137.
22 See S. Wenzel, 'The Three Enemies of Man', *Mediaeval Studies* 29 (1967), 47–66, especially 62 ff.

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Beheim's modifications of the *Erchantnuzz* go far beyond a revision of the sequence of the capital vices. Although he incorporates vast portions of his source into his individual song-poems, he composes no penitential manual, omitting the entire first half of the text on penance, and retaining only the catalogue of the seven deadly sins, which he proceeds to revise so extensively as to make his source text almost unrecognizable. Throughout his mosaic of texts, he creates an intricate game of numbers, hidden from all but the most attentive reader. His numerological structure is based on a triad and divides neatly by three. The Little Book includes thirty-nine poems, and the total number of verses (4,563) is divisible by three, the very number reflective of the process of penitence: contrition, confession and satisfaction. While multiples of three mark his text, Beheim takes extreme poetic license, seizing the freedom to add and subtract, to abbreviate and to omit. He is seeking out a mirror of sin, the kind of *speculum peccatoris* that, held before the audience, will inspire, first, recognition of transgressions committed, and then remedies for the same. To this end, he edits furiously. He borrows short passages from his source text, breaks a chapter into several songs (for instance, 190–4), avoids a systematic recounting of aspects of sin, confects original poems (for example, 202*), and fails to obey the chronology of the original. If the argument does not fit his blunt, brief exposition – or suit the musical framework he has composed – he removes it. Missing are whole portions, even chapters, of the *Erchantnuzz*, and with them fundamental points of Church doctrine, for example, the very basic distinction between mortal and venial sin. The absence of the material on penance means, as one might guess, that the motif of the ship of penance (*scheff der püzz*) is absent.

These omissions have a direct impact on the manner of argumentation. In a word, Beheim's method is emotional in thrust, relying on the twin pillars of the believer's fear of the wrath of God and the dread of shame for having committed sin. His manner is affective, moving the audience to feelings and thereby producing a change in behavior. He therefore has no space for *distinctiones peccatorum*, and although he takes over the citations of Church Fathers from the *Erchantnuzz*, the scholastic apparatus of the original has mostly disappeared – and with it the essentially sober voice of the *Erchantnuzz*. To be sure, the prose treatise makes room for theological invective and sometimes crass expressions, of the following sort:

> do got den menschen beschüf, do schuf er vnd wolt, das dy edel sel vnder ain snoden sakch menschleichs leibs verporgen wurd (44, 29–30).
>
> ('when God created humankind, at creation he wished that the noble soul be concealed under the vile sack of the human body.')

But the language of the *Erchantnuzz* is tempered and dampened, because so much of its text is made up of copious citations from authorities. Beheim adopts many of these, citing, among others, Augustine (his most cited authority), Ambrose, Gregory and Jerome. Still, he does not allow citation of authorities to diminish the role of the speaker in the Little Book. The personal pronoun 'ich'

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appears in the overwhelming number of song-poems, a poetic persona that addresses the audience with a striking immediacy, the aim being to establish a connection between the listener/reader and the authorial voice. Concerning this first-person voice, scholarship on the Middle Ages teaches us to keep separate the historical author from expressions of his rhetorical voice, the literary persona. However, in the Little Book, Beheim blurs the lines between the two, so that it is impossible to tell whether the omnipresent 'ich' is the fifteenth-century author himself or a literary creation. The effect is to focus attention, not on Church authorities, nor on the source text, but on the personal voice delivering the almost two-score song-poems. This voice, offering the audience 'hilff, ratt, erczney und ler' ('aid, advice, remedy and teaching'; 188, 1), draws attention to itself as a helpful guide, a shepherd through the thickets of the deadly sins. The ubiquitous 'ich' reveals truth as a divine agent, affirming the order of creation in ways that combine the roles of prophet, moralist, teacher, Church authority and theological adviser and counselor. It warns of dissipation, but consistently brings practical remedies for sin, *erczney*.[23]

Judging by the mathematics of composition in the Little Book, that is, by the sheer verse-count, Beheim wants to alert his listeners/readers to the dangers of two sins above all others. These are pride, the deadliest of sins, and lust, the vice that the Church Fathers, most prominently Augustine, had feared because of its almost total subjection of humanity.[24] Pride and lust dominate the Little Book, serving as the chief dangers for lovers of the world, the first the subject of eight songs, and the latter of ten. The approximately 1000 lines devoted to lust even surpass the verse-total of pride (more than 900 verses, almost a fourth of the Little Book). Together, the two sins make up about half of the entire text. Of the sins, sloth, which Beheim understands chiefly as apathy in religious matters, for instance in attending to Church duties, receives least attention. Gluttony occupies the next least position. And the triad of envy, wrath and avarice are equal in status, sharing about the same number of songs (four, five and five, respectively) of roughly equal length. Beheim usually devotes one poem per deadly sin to cautionary advice about why it should be avoided. Each of these warnings is lengthy (one running to almost 300 verses), and each details the dangers of the vice. Wrath, for example, elicits a blunt rhyme-pair aimed at moderating the emotion and sin:

> Got, vater, sun, geist jagt er aus
> und seczt den teüfel da zu haus. (176, 70–1)

('[Wrath] displaces God Father, Son and Holy Ghost, and puts the devil in their place.')[25]

23 Discussing the remedy for avarice, Beheim highlights his role as singer against sin: 'Mit singen wirt euch aus gelait / erczney und rat für geytikait' ('With song I lay forth to you / the cure and counsel for greed'), 185, 1–2.

24 See S. M. Lyman, *The Seven Deadly Sins: Society and Evil* (New York, 1978), p. 55.

25 On wrath in Beheim's scheme of sins, see my essay: 'Armed Conflict as a Deadly Sin:

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When treating the sins, Beheim is capable of reasoned explanation, but ultimately he has little patience with fine distinctions and subtle argument, for example, for debating what the nature of moral evil is, speculating on the sins of the mouth, discussing original sin, investigating whether temperance is the basis of the holy virtues or arguing, in the manner of Thomistic theology, over shades of vice or whether covetousness is truly the root of all sins. Nor does Beheim attempt to oppose the vices with virtues. He relies, instead, on dread of the last judgment to motivate his audience both to avoid sin and to come to contrition for sins committed. Invective is the medium for his comments on sin, and the reasons for it are not far to seek. Capital vices are not a subject for polite discourse. To combat evil, he exploits all the rhetorical weapons in his arsenal: didacticism, stark imagery – including animals as emblems of transgression – coarse speech and an urgent plea for avoidance of sin. These are admonitory and exhortatory songs, threatening in tone and filled with *exempla* illustrating violations of divine law. Judas Iscariot, for instance, is the chief negative exemplar for avarice. Beheim interprets the betrayal of Christ by Judas not from the perspective of envy, but as resulting from the sin of greed (181, 40 ff.). The avariciousness of Judas caused him to betray Christ, to barter the life of the Savior for a sum of money. The poet argues:

> Wo wart ein sund so heftig ye
> als geitikait? czwar die wart nie,
> seit Judas unsern herren hie
> gab umb dreissig phenninge.
> All geitig leüt auch unsern herrn
> verkauffen. . . (181, 40–5)

('Was there ever a sin as ferocious as avarice? I don't think so, for Judas handed over our Lord for thirty coins. All covetous people play the part of Judas with our Lord. . .')

And those who consume food to excess, committing thereby the sin of gluttony, not only eat like pigs; they are pigs (186, 1–13; 71–4). By likening sinners to animals, a technique already present in his source text, Beheim bows to a convention of literature on the deadly sins. Bloomfield calls the links between the vices and animals 'zoological comparisons'.[26] Beheim equates the ireful man with a mad dog (176, 2), lust with cattle in manure (189, 72), avarice with a worm (181, 1) and pride with a raven (168, 131). Accordingly, sinners are wallowing, filthy, noisy, flapping and slithering creatures.

The worm appears again, illustrating both how Beheim equates the sinner with the zoological world and how he adapts a feature from the *Erchantnuzz*

Michel Beheim's Verses on Wrath (1457–*c.* 1470)', in *War and Peace: Critical Issues in European Societies and Literature, 800–1800*, ed. N. Margolis and A. Classen (Berlin, 2011), pp. 425–41.

26 Bloomfield, *Sins*, p. 245.

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(be it a single word or image) and molds it to his purposes. The topic is envy, and the song-poem is called 'Von den, die mit neid gefallen sind, sagt uns das' ('This tells about those who have fallen prey to envy'). It begins:

> Hie horent eins exempels furm
> van einen ungestumen wurm,
> der lauffet durch die welt mit sturm
> von im viel schanden chumen,
> Unsauberung und alle gifft,
> wann er gross mort und chumer stifft.
> wenn er durch sin unreinung trifft,
> der wird schedlich vermeilet,
> Des er hart wider heilet.
> der wurm genant ist neid und has.
> vil mang sel hatt vermeiligt das.
> czu erst Adam . . . (172, 1–12)

('Listen to an exemplary story about a horrible worm raging through the world. From it many harmful things have come – filth and all sorts of poison, since it causes death and misery. He who encounters this defiler is severely blemished, a taint from which it is hard to heal. The worm has the names envy and hatred. Many a soul has been befouled by it; the first was Adam . . .')

His apparent inspiration for the worm of envy is a fundamentally different allusion in the *Erchantnuzz* (and in Peraldus) which is embedded in a kind of scholastic passage expounding the divisions and sub-divisions of envy for a lay audience. The section in the prose original states that envy is the closest daughter to pride, for she alone descends from that sin. Explaining the constituent parts of envy, the source text lays out the reasons one should avoid the vice in daily life. The fifth reason given is:

> wann dy pozhait des neid chreuczigt vnd martert irn aigen herrn vnd ist als ein wurm, der in ainem holcz wachset, der das holtz hernach nagt vnd izzt, darinn er ist geporn worden. Dauon spricht Jeronimus: Neid izzt und peizzt am ersten sich selben. Seneca spricht . . . (55, 41–4)

('because envy's wickedness crucified and martyred its own Lord. Envy is like a worm growing in wood that continues to eat away at the wood in which it was born. Of this Jerome says: 'Envy eats away at its self'. Seneca says . . .')

Beheim's adopted image of the worm of envy, the evil creature racing furiously through the world, poisoning all it touches and contaminating everything in its wake, is calculated to shock and frighten the reader/listener, not least because it conjures up one of the most iconic images of death. When man dies he will be claimed by the worms, as the *Erchantnuzz* states in another section (50,19–21), citing Scripture: 'cum enim moritur homo, hereditabit serpentes et bestias et vermes' ('For when a man shall die, he shall inherit serpents, and beasts, and

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worms', Sirach 10. 13). Envy and the worm: Beheim adopts a metaphor from his source, embellishes it, and links envy and death, relying on the traditional association of the worm and the end of human existence. This is didacticism at its most extreme, drawing on the power of terror to alert humanity to sin and to thus prepare it for death.

It is important to stress that Beheim uses coarseness and offensiveness as a rhetorical strategy in his verses on the deadly sins. His technique of shocking his audience with crude, insulting speech is best understood as a kind of analogy to divine displeasure at sin. Just as human vice offends God, so, too, should songs about sin horrify those who encounter the Little Book. Beheim's offensive and caustic words possess a visual quality, as he searches out a graphic portrayal of vice that will remain in the memory of his audience. The best example is the final song-poem in the Little Book, 'Der besluss über dis buch' ('The conclusion of this book', 202*). Here he personifies the sins by associating each with body parts on a gruesome creature. The figure drawn incorporates the violation of divine principles, each physical feature a capital vice. Pride is the hair; envy is the eyes; wrath is the mouth; sloth is the backside; gluttony is the belly; lust is (euphemistically) located below the belly; and avarice is the feet. His word-choice is crass. Describing lust, he says, for instance, that carnality brings forth 'wüst und stinkend sünd' ('vile and foul-smelling sins'; 68). The inspiration for Beheim's man of sin, the figure whose body consists of the deadly sins, is not to be found in the *Erchantnuzz*. I cannot identify the precise source, but have found an analogue in English devotional literature of the late fourteenth century. There, the man of sin is the image of the devil himself.[27] Demonology certainly has a place in the Little Book, for the sins are here conceived as inspired by pure evil. Beheim claims, for example, that a devil (*teufel*; 167, 38) resides in every feature of a proud man's extravagant headgear. As well, Lucifer, who arrogantly sought to become the equal of God, is a one of his favorite exemplars of sin, appearing four times in the Little Book, three times as an exemplar of pride and once as a figure of avarice.

Beheim's description of a man-devil, his every feature of anatomy representative of the sins, brings to mind a roughly contemporaneous rendering of vice, the painting called the *Seven Deadly Sins and Four Last Things* (*c*. 1485) by Hieronymus Bosch. Bosch relates the sins to humans through scenes of transgression. Depicting *superbia*, for example, Bosch shows a woman in lavish garments who is admiring her headdress in a mirror that is held by the devil. The panel on *luxuria* shows copulating figures attended by a fool. The descriptive phrases Laura Gelfand uses in her analysis of this painting apply just as well to Beheim's Little Book: 'a meditative device for a devout layman'; 'the vivid display of the sins'; or '[to motivate] the viewer to consider his or her decisions

27 See the 'ymage of synne' in Walter Hilton's *Scale of Perfection*, ed. T. H. Bestul (Kalamazoo, 2000), pp. 126–8. Cf. Bloomfield, *Sins*, p. 181. I treat Beheim's man of sin and its analogues in: 'Michel Beheim's Image of Sin. Concerning his Song-Poem "Der besluss über dis buch" (202*), *c*. 1470', *Mediävistik* 24 (2011), 151–65.

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and their consequences in the next world'. Especially useful is Gelfand's conclusion that Bosch's iconography of the sins was intended not only to generate a contrite, devotional state in the viewer, but also to prepare him or her for holy sacraments: 'The vivid display of the sins may have acted as a stimulus for a number of important religious activities including self-examination prior to confession and as a prompt to help remember each of the Seven Deadly Sins.'[28] Imagining a scenario where Beheim's Little Book is read in private devotion, it is no great leap to assume that his treatment of the sins inspired prayerful meditation and prepared his audience for divine sacraments.

In beginning the Little Book with the Gregorian order for the first three vices (pride, envy and wrath),[29] Beheim theologically rejects the notion that controlling bodily desires must command first place in the order of vices. He is much more alarmed at the manifestations of pride and its partner, lust, in society – the highest social strata included. Pride, which for him is the beginning of all sin (165, 14), is man's fiercest enemy and the fundamental vice. Beheim's eight song-poems on the first sin treat these subjects: those afflicted by pride, ills stemming from pride, the varieties of pride, prideful men, prideful women, pride in noble birth, prideful nobles and the remedies for pride. Justifying his placement of pride as the first sin, Beheim explains in his anatomical poem that:

> Hafart han ich mit erst gesaczt,
> wann sy dy erst sund wart geschaczt.
> alle teufel sy gar verlaczt.
> die gleich ich czu dem hare.
> Daz swebt allweg enbare
> über aller menschen gelit.
> also hat haffart auch den sit,
> daz sy uber menclich swebt mit
> schmelichen wider spenschen. (202, 5–13)

('I put pride first because it is deemed the first sin. All the devils suffered from it. I liken it to human hair, floating this way and that above all the bodily members. Pride, in like fashion, hovers over humans with outrageous persistence.')

Beginning in the Garden of Eden, pride has had many negative exemplars from Scripture and Antiquity, and Beheim lists a parade of presumptuousness, from Adam, Lucifer and the builders of the Tower of Babel to King Nebuchadnezzar and Alexander the Great. Noblemen, as noted, made up Beheim's main audience. It thus comes as no surprise that he includes men of society's highest strata among the exemplars of arrogance in his own time. He challenges the lay nobles, using the traditional rhetorical strategy of the 'nobility of soul' versus the 'nobility of birth', to confront, and thus overcome, vainglory:

[28] L. D. Gelfand, 'Social Status and Sin: Reading Bosch's Prado *Seven Deadly Sins and Four Last Things* Painting', in *Seven Deadly Sins*, pp. 229–56; the citations here are, respectively, from pp. 229, 235, 237 and 235.

[29] See Lyman, *The Seven Deadly Sins*, pp. 136 ff.

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Kaiser, chung, fursten, herren – secht,
ir graven, freyen, riter, chnecht,
und ir edlen, vernemet recht:
ich will euch kennen lerne,
Welcher von rechtem adel sey. (170, 1–5)

('Emperor, kings, princes, lords – look! You counts, yeomen, knights, knaves and all nobles. Listen well! I shall teach you what proper nobility means.')

For nobleman and peasant alike, pride has a great opponent, one that destroys it utterly: death itself. Death for Beheim is the great leveler that obliterates distinctions of class in society, for all men are equal in the grave. A fragile life, dissolving at any sign of illness into 'powder and . . . shit and ashes' ('pulver und . . . kot und aschen'; 171, 105–6), becomes a pile of bones in the cemetery. He challenges anyone to tell on the evidence of these bones which skeletons had belonged to noblemen in life. A further inducement to humility among the social elite is the knowledge that high birth alone is insufficient for members of the upper class to be free from sin (169). Noble blood is no guarantee against pride. Rather, it is moral action that sets one man apart from the other. One song-poem in the Little Book admonishing the nobility concludes:

phach, dein adel ist nur ein mist
und ringer wann der hunde! (169, 59–60)

('Phooey, your nobility is only excrement and less than a dog!')

Searching for a vivid image of pride, Beheim settles on an extended metaphor to illustrate that pride is 'a mother of evil' ('ein muter der poshait'; 164, 6) or 'a mother of all misdeeds' ('ein muter aller missetat'; 166, 10). She is an evil matriarch, devil-like, poisoning the world with her vast multitude of offspring. All of these devilish children, the poet argues, are born with gall and poison that they pass on to their own brood (166, 7–8). Pride therefore extends its reach by virtue of the seeds of Mother Pride:

Ain pey spil wild han ich gemacht
van einer wurczel ungeslacht,
die erkuket und auf gepracht
hat allen posen samen.
Der alle erd hat uber spreit.
sy ist ein muter der poshait,
ein ursprung aller upikeit
ein anvang aller sunden.
Hie wil ich euch verkunden:
die wurczel ist genant hochvart.
die erst sund, die ye triben wart,
die pracht Lucifer also hart
des erst in schand und schame. (164, 1–13)

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('I have crafted a strange image of a rough root, which grows and brings forth evil seeds. She who scatters them all over the world is a mother of evil, the origin of all arrogance and the beginning of all sin. I want to tell you here that this root is pride, the first sin that was ever committed. It brought Lucifer, its first victim, to dishonor and shame.')

Pride for Beheim has a pronounced female dimension. Not only does the sin spring from the mother of evil, it manifests itself strongly in young women who delight in mirrors, hair styles, fashionable clothing, jewelry and make-up with the aim of attracting young men (see esp. 'Von der weiber hochvart' ['Concerning pride in women']; 168). Since these superficial, vainglorious women are so attentive to an attractive appearance in society, the conclusion is obvious that they are more concerned with outer aspects and pleasing the world than with their own salvation. Pride makes women especially susceptible, Beheim argues, more so than men. They dare never forget that, in their arrogance, they were the cause of the great evil that befell the world in the Garden of Eden (168, 135 ff.). These prideful women call to mind another of Beheim's female figures, this one in verses outside the Little Book, appearing in a song-poem called 'Ain beispel von ainem weib, was vorn schan und hinden schraglich' ('An *exemplum* of a woman who was beautiful when seen from the front, but was frightfully ugly when viewed from the rear'; 279). The woman of whom he speaks is the world itself, here presented as the traditional allegorical figure customarily named Dame World – in modern German 'Frau Welt'. Dazzlingly lovely to behold, but horrible to contemplate when observed without the protective mask of her feminine charm, Dame World entices men with appearances, offering only the illusion of beauty.[30]

This combination of pride and lust, allure and seduction, expressed as excessive indulgence in the realm of appearance and worldly things, takes us to the sin of lust in the Little Book. Lust is a vice of the heart and flesh. Lewdness destroys the mind, even as it saps the strength of the sinner. Lust preoccupies Beheim, who sees lascivious behavior everywhere. His ten song-poems treat the following aspects of lecherous conduct: what lust is and why it is to be avoided, sodomy, incest, adultery, lustful women, libidinous unmarried people, the causes of lust, female procurers (bawds), remedies for overcoming lust and a sharp retort to those claiming that this sin cannot be overcome. For relief from flaming lust, Beheim counsels that the sinner turn to God and beg for divine assistance:

Darumb sollen all sunder die
genad gotes an rüffen hie
und auch suchen, an des hilff sie
mit nicht sein czu pekerend.
Das sol mit iren rain gepet

30 See W. C. McDonald, 'The World as Woman: Two Late-Medieval Song-Poems on Frau Welt by Michel Beheim', *Modern Philology* (forthcoming).

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und allmusen werden pestet.
auch aller heilgen hilff und ret
und auch gerechter leüte.
Soln sy versweigen neute
und sollen sy auch ruffen an,
das in ir mistat werd verlan
und auch das sy den himel thron
pesiczen ymer werend. (198, 131–43)

('All sinners should implore the grace of God and seek his help for those not yet ready to repent. Your fervent prayers and alms should bring this about. Call, too, on the saints and righteous people for help and counsel, so that your misdeeds might be forgiven and so that you might possess the throne of heaven forever.')

The person in the throes of sexual indulgence requires divine intervention, because his vice is an illness – a form of unreason that hampers all mental faculties – and he behaves like insensate creatures, like cows or pigs. Like the beasts that prefer manure and rancid puddles to living a clean existence, these people would rather wallow in fecal matter than earn the esteem of their fellow man, heaven and eternal life (189, 66–7). Imploring heaven is combined in Beheim's verses with a practical prescription for lust: strictly regulated sexual conduct. In a word, to control sexual appetites he advises abstinence. Couples are to refrain from copulatory relations before marriage and to avoid them outside the marriage bonds. Unmarried persons are especially in danger of sin and easy prey for the vice of fornication (194). Therefore, young women are to remain virgins and young men sexually chaste until marriage. The avoidance of lust requires Beheim's audience to respect the human body as God's temple (189, 139 ff.; cf. I Corinthians 3. 16: *templum Dei*). Defilement of that temple is sinful rebellion, punishable by the everlasting torment of hell's fire.

Beheim divides lust into two sections, one targeting the specific offenses of sodomy and incest and the other concerning general lascivious behavior of men and women, particularly unmarried persons. The first of these he treats under the familiar theological category of 'the sin against nature' ('die sund wider die natur'; 190, 11).[31] Especially at risk are those among the lecherous who commit the sin associated with Sodom and Gomorrah. This sin is so grievous, according to Beheim, that he cannot bring himself to speak its name:

Von einer sund schedlich und snöd,
sundlich, schentlich, veint selig, öd,
unlustig, wüst, unsauber, plod
wil ich euch machen chunde.
Das ist die pos sund ungenem,

31 See R. M. Karras, 'The Lechery that Dare Not Speak its Name: Sodomy and the Vices in Medieval England', in *Garden of Evil*, pp. 193–205.

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das laster und ubel, van dem
scheüczlich, unmenschlich, wider czem
unreinclich ist czu reden.
Wil ich sein nam nit scheden,
ich nenn euch die selbe unfur,
haist die sund wider die natur.
nu solt ir horn und nemen chur
die groß und swer der sunde. (190, 1–13)

('I want to acquaint you with a sin that is harmful and evil, sinful, damaging, inimical and odious, sad, depraved, unclean and idiotic. This is the basest sin, unpleasant, a vice and evil about which it is horrible, inhuman, detestable and impure to speak. I shall not pronounce its name, but shall give you another in its place. It is the sin against nature. Now you shall hear and learn of the magnitude and danger of this sin.')[32]

Hurling invective against anyone who engages in sodomy, whom he calls the 'enemy of God' ('gotes veint', 190, 19), Beheim explains that the only purpose for sexual coupling is procreation. All persons who act 'against/contrary to nature' ('wider die natur'; 190, 11) deserve divine retribution, and those practicing this form of lust are reminded of God's past punishments: the flood and the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah. Of the city of Sodom he takes special notice, drawing a particular revelation from the destruction of the place (190, 77–81). It is depraved desire ('durch sein posen pegire'; 190, 86) that leads man to sodomy, sexual appetites making him even lower than animals, since animals behave according to the established order of creation ('ordenung der nature'; 190, 91). Following this logic, sexual immorality is in the literal sense dis-ordered behavior. It must be remembered that every form of lust, not only sodomy, is a sin against nature in Beheim's eyes; and all concupiscence, as a force arising *contra naturam*, stems from (literally) insane impulses.

The second category of lust involves men and women. Virginity, adultery and fornication are the themes. Writing on the unchastity of single persons, Beheim observes,

. . . als ichs gelesen han:
'ir solt das wissen und verstan,
das ein iglich unkeüsch person
aintweder ist unsauber
Oder auf geitikait peger.
das ist ein dinst der abgotter
und ein solcher hat nymer mer
chain tail zu himel reiche'.
Darum ist sicherleiche

[32] Cf. Puff, *Sodomy in Reformation Germany and Switzerland, 1400–1600*, p. 59. See also McDonald, 'Michel Beheim's Literary Assault on the "Sin against Nature"'.

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der unkeuscher vil erger, dann
ein toter und manslechtig man. (194, 14–24)

('I read that you should know and understand that every unchaste person is either indecent or a victim of greed. This person serves false gods, and his kind can have no part in the heavenly kingdom. Thus, surely the lecherous person is much worse than a murderer.')

Here Beheim paraphrases the familiar words against fornication and indecency in Ephesians 5. 5: 'hoc enim scitote intellegentes quod omnis fornicator aut immundus aut avarus quod est idolorum servitus non habet hereditatem in regno Christi et Dei' ('For know you this and understand: That no fornicator or unclean or covetous person (which is a serving of idols) hath inheritance in the kingdom of Christ and of God'). Guided by this type of linkage of two deadly sins, lust and avarice, Beheim favors a coupling of the vices throughout the Little Book, believing that no sin exists in isolation. All the sins stand in mutual relationship to one another; each is intertwined and overlapping. Eve, for example, is not merely representative of sinful pride. Her transgression in the Garden of Eden is twofold, pride plus gluttony (196, 46–7). In another passage he pairs lust with gluttony: 'ess[e]n und trinken peit / [ist] ein ursach der unkeuschikeit' ('both eating and drinking are a cause of lust'; 197, 63–4). Similarly, he demonstrates the conjunction of arrogance and lust when young, unmarried men and women take inordinate pride in their apparel and personal appearance. Their self-indulgence makes vanity and lust a single vice, since those who concern themselves with the latest fashions and hair styles are hoping to attract attention from the opposite sex. To persons concerned about stylish hats and curls in their hair, Beheim warns of Satan's influence (167, 38). Hair styles, mirrors and make-up boxes become instruments of lust and threats to chastity. The remedy for both pride and lust is the same: abstinence. Young people should avoid fashionable garments that might inspire sinful passion. Woman's highest treasure is her virginity, Beheim claims, finding it to be the most excellent form of chastity. Those men who try to sully maidenly virtue are sinning against God (193). Likewise, the malevolent procuress looking to lead young women astray is not only serving Satan's ends, she is his full partner in abominable crime (196).

Delight in clothing and the lack of modesty derive, as do all the capital vices in the Little Book, from irrationality. Beheim equates sin with insanity: immoral habits spring from unreason – from what he calls *tumen sin* (171, 115). In Beheim's theology, all sinful behavior, but particularly lust and pride, is rank madness. As such, immoral conduct is a challenge to the natural order of the universe, actions upon which the persuasive power of sacred wisdom must be brought to bear. The absurdity of sin he traces to the Garden of Eden. In a song-poem on lustful deceit, he observes that the serpent enticing Eve was bereft of correct perception ('nicht het vernunft'; 196, 36). Again, animals enter the equation, because the serpent in the Garden of Eden, though bearing a

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woman's face (v. 28), is a savage beast and thus is not endowed with the faculty of reason. No animal emblem of sin appearing in the Little Book is governed by reason: their nature is *unvernünftig* (186, 3). Animals, as irrational creatures, therefore have an excuse for failing to act in accord with sound judgment. But humans have no such excuse for hesitating to exercise virtue and avoiding immoral conduct. Humans who sin fail to employ good sense, unreason generating the causal link to sin and manifesting itself in disobedience to the precepts of God – an insane gesture. Certainly no rational human being (so runs the logic of the Little Book) would deliberately commit vice and thereby stain his soul. In the case of the sin of lust, when someone chooses to follow the path of sexual immorality, he has clearly signaled that, in his irrational state, he prefers carnal pleasure over salvation itself.

The interplay between rationality and irrationality is, to Beheim's eyes, both the chief conflict in human nature and the battleground for the deadly sins. The Little Book thus becomes a map of his theology and his worldview. Each human he sees suspended between virtue and vice, avoiding the one and attaching himself to the other. The measure of a person is therefore whether he aspires to immoral, that is, insane, habits or to their counterpart. Essential to the logic and religious argument of the Little Book is that sin, although irrational, is a voluntary act. Humanity chooses depravity. And this emphasis on choice makes the Little Book life-affirming and ultimately optimistic in outlook. In the end, humanity is capable of rational thought, able to exercise sound judgment and good sense, and can thus support, and appreciate, the God-given natural order (190, 89–91). Mocking those who claim that lust cannot be overcome, Beheim argues passionately that dissipation is a temporary condition, amenable to logic and full understanding of the wisdom of Scripture. In the voice of the pastoral theologian, he counsels his audience:

> Hie horent rat, hilff, ler und steür,
> wie man erleschen sol das feür
> der unkeuschikait ungeheür.
> das mus sein mit drein dingen . . . (197, 1–4)

('Listen here for advice, aid, teaching and support about how one can quench the fires of monstrous lust. That must be achieved using three things . . .')

What applies here to the sin of lust applies to the other sins in the Little Book. Suffusing his verses with an optimistic tenor, even as he displays the horrors of transgression of divine law, Beheim is at pains to assure his lay audience that, although the deadly sins are inspired by evil, each vice can be subdued and prevailed against. Since he conceives of sin as spiritual illness and aberration, it can be cured. The message is therefore one of hope. Sin can be triumphed over, if one will only hearken to the list of remedies that Beheim puts forth, including the fear of God, knowledge of the aspects of sin, fervent prayer, confession, familiarity with Scripture and the Church Fathers, and good sense. Armed with this healing medicine for sin, Beheim's audience

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discovers the precepts for leading a virtuous life. He makes that discovery possible by creating a form of homiletic preaching in the vernacular, which he calls the Little Book. The uniqueness of his treatment is that he sets the sins to song. But he allows a twofold organizing function: words and music. Now song-poetry has joined the battle against evil and, no matter whether the laity listens to Beheim's words as a communal performance or reads song-texts without music in private, in the Little Book two artistic media diffuse the doctrine of the capital vices to the faithful.

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CHAPTER THIRTEEN

Raising Cain: Vice, Virtue and Social Order in the German Reformation

Kathleen Crowther, University of Oklahoma

This essay analyzes a play written in 1553 by the famous Lutheran cobbler-turned-writer, Hans Sachs, called *The Unequal Children of Eve*. In this play, Adam and Eve have six wicked sons who are presented as personifications of different vices. I argue that Sachs's play points to the continued vitality of representations of the vices in sixteenth-century German Lutheran culture. In particular, I challenge John Bossy's argument about the disappearance of the vices in the sixteenth century, a disappearance he argues is particularly evident in German Protestant culture. However, I also demonstrate that Sachs's treatment of the vices differs from that of his medieval predecessors. In the medieval Catholic tradition on which Sachs drew, representations of the vices served primarily to stimulate and guide examination of the individual conscience. For Sachs (and for his contemporaries) representations of the vices were used to critique 'anti-social behavior' and to legitimate social hierarchy.

The story of Cain and Abel is among the most familiar in the Bible. Cain, the eldest son of Adam and Eve, is a 'tiller of the ground' and his younger brother Abel is a 'keeper of sheep'. One day both offer sacrifices to God, Cain from the 'fruit of the ground' and Abel from 'the firstlings of his flock'.[1] God accepts Abel's offering but rejects Cain's. Cain kills Abel. But if the story is well-known it is also mysterious. Why does God reject Cain's offering? Perhaps because Cain offered it grudgingly and out of a sense of duty, not out of love. Perhaps because Abel offered the finest portion of his animals to God while Cain offered the worst portion of his crop. These are plausible explanations, though not ones given explicitly in the text of Genesis. Why does Cain murder Abel? Perhaps because he is jealous of the favor God has shown his younger brother. Plausible, but again, the Bible is not explicit on this point. The pathos and the terseness of the story of Cain and Abel have long exercised the exegetical skills

[1] Genesis 4. 2–4. This and all subsequent quotations from the Bible are from the King James Version.

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of theologians and stimulated the imaginative powers of poets.[2] This paper focuses on a particularly striking version of the story of Cain and Abel, a play written in 1553 by the famous Lutheran cobbler-turned-writer, Hans Sachs, called *Die ungeleichen Kinder Eve* (*The Unequal Children of Eve*).[3] Sachs greatly expands the story of Cain and Abel, adding characters, providing background on the relationship between Cain and Abel, describing the events leading up to those fateful sacrificial offerings and supplying motive for the murder. Sachs's play offers a rich and suggestive example of the ways in which Lutheran writers combined old and new elements to construct a new system of ethics and morality. In particular, Sachs uses the traditional motif of personification of the vices to teach and promote a Lutheran view of the relationship between vice, virtue and social order.

In *The Unequal Children of Eve*, Adam and Eve have six good sons and six wicked sons. The six good sons are Abel, Seth, Jared, Enoch, Mathusalach and Lamech. The six wicked sons are Cain, Dathan, Achan, Nabal, Esaw and Nemrot. In the play, God comes to visit Adam and Eve and their children to see how well they are raising their sons. God tests each of the children on matters of faith, asking them to recite their prayers, the Ten Commandments and the Creed. Abel and his five good brothers do this flawlessly, to the great delight of their parents and God. However, Cain and his five wicked brothers fail utterly. They recite garbled and blasphemous versions of prayers and articles of faith from the catechism and cannot remember a single one of the Ten Commandments.

Each of Cain's five wicked brothers embodies a particular vice: Dathan is the rabble-rouser; Nabal, the glutton; Achan, the thief; Esaw, the lecher; and Nemrot, the tyrant.[4] Cain himself is associated throughout the play with the vices of pride, envy and anger. None of the six has the slightest interest in God's visit. While Abel eagerly awaits God's arrival, Cain complains that he would 'rather hunt fox and rabbit' or run around with his friends getting into fights 'than listen to a lot of stuff about faith'.[5] Dathan would 'rather have dice and cards . . . or a board game . . . than prayer'.[6] Nabal 'would rather eat and drink, from evening till morning . . . [and] let God worry about his heaven'.[7] Their catechism is a blasphemous parody of the one so perfectly recited by Abel and the other five good sons. Dathan, for example, proclaims that he

2 A. Brieger, *Kain und Abel in der deutschen Dichtung* (Berlin, 1934).

3 Hans Sachs, 'Comedia. Die ungeleichen Kinder Eve, wie sie Gott, der Herr, anredt', in *Hans Sachs*, ed. A. von Keller, 26 vols. (Tübingen, 1870–1908), I, 53–87.

4 Ibid., pp. 76–7.

5 Ibid., pp. 62–3: 'Viel lieber füchs und hasen jagen, / Denn hören viel vom glauben sagen.'

6 Ibid., pp. 76–7: 'Het ich darfür würffel und kartten / Der wolt ich fleissiger außwarten. / Oder zu spilen in dem pret / Wer lieber mir, denn das gebet.'

7 Ibid., p. 77: 'Het ich zu fressen und zu sauffen / Die nacht bis an den hellen morgen, / Got ließ ich für sein himel sorgen.'

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believes in 'sin, flesh and life'.[8] Nemrot impudently tells God, 'What my eyes see, my heart believes. I'll take all the honor, goods and riches I can get, and leave you your heaven'.[9]

God rewards the six good brothers by making them the ancestors of all wise and noble peoples, kings, princes, potentates, scholars and priests.[10] God condemns Cain and his brothers, saying, 'Thus on earth you will become hard and wretched people, like peasants, cotters, shepherds and knackers, bath attendants, woodcutters and broom makers, day laborers, goatherds, executioners and bailiffs, peddlers, coachmen and sailors, vagabonds, shoemakers and foot soldiers'.[11] The play ends with the murder of Abel. Sachs actually makes Cain's envy and anger at the unequal distribution of wealth and power the motivation for the murder. When Cain complains that God favors Abel over him, Satan fans the flames of his anger, saying, 'But you are as good as him! Didn't you both come from Adam? And you're the first born anyway. This disgrace should make you really mad.'[12] Finally, Satan urges Cain to murder Abel and redeem his honor, saying, 'So go ahead and kill him!'

Sachs's play illustrates the ways in which Lutheran preachers, teachers and polemicists used both old and new elements to promulgate their message. In *The Unequal Children of Eve* Sachs has the children recite a Lutheran catechism, a sixteenth-century innovation,[13] but he also includes representations of the sins that draw on the medieval tradition of vices. The descriptions of Nabal, the glutton and Esaw, the lecher, clearly look back to earlier representations of these vices, as do the descriptions of Cain's pride, anger and envy.[14] The description of Achan, the thief, borrows from traditional portrayals of greed. Achan seeks to obtain money and possessions by any and all means, not just robbery, but also deceit and usury.[15] Although most of the historical and literary scholarship on the vices has focused on the medieval period,[16] I argue that

8 Ibid., p. 79: 'Die sünde, fleisch und leben.'

9 Ibid., p. 80: 'Was mein augn sehen, glaubt das hertz. / . . . / Ich nehm ehr, gut, reichtumb der massen / Und wolt dir deinen himel lassen.'

10 Ibid., p. 76.

11 Ibid., pp. 80–1: 'Derhalben so müst ir auff erden / Hart und armutselig leut werden, / Als baurn, kebler, scheffer und schinder / Badknecht, holtzhackr und besenbinder, / Taglöner, hirten, büttel und schergen, / Kerner, wagenleut und fergen, / Jacobsbrüder, schustr und landßknecht.'

12 Ibid., p. 82: 'Ir seyd doch gleich als gut als er! / Kumt ir doch all von Adam her! / Darzu bist du der erst-geborn. / Dir billich sol die schmach thun billich zorn.'

13 On catechisms in the Reformation, see R. J. Bast, *Honor Your Fathers: Catechisms and the Emergence of a Patriarchal Ideology in Germany 1400–1600* (Leiden, 1997); and G. Strauss, *Luther's House of Learning: Indoctrination of the Young in the German Reformation* (Baltimore, 1978).

14 On representations of the vices in medieval culture, see Bloomfield, *Sins*; *Garden of Evil*; and *Seven Deadly Sins*.

15 On earlier treatments of greed see Newhauser, *Greed*; and L. K. Little, 'Pride Goes before Avarice: Social Change and the Vices in Latin Christendom', *The American Historical Review* 76.1 (1971), 16–49.

16 Bloomfield, *Sins*; and *Garden of Evil*. For an excellent overview of the scholarship

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Sachs's play points to the continued vitality of the vices in sixteenth-century German Lutheran culture. The presence and explicit reference to these vices in a mid-sixteenth-century Protestant play, alongside a recitation of the Ten Commandments, certainly calls into question John Bossy's argument about the disappearance of the vices in the sixteenth century, a disappearance he argues is particularly evident in German Protestant culture.[17] However, while there is much in the Sachs play that is traditional, there is much in his treatment of the vices that differs from his medieval predecessors. Thus Sachs's play points not only to the continuing vitality of the vices in sixteenth-century Lutheran culture, but also to their changed meaning and function. Specifically, in the tradition on which Sachs is drawing, representations of the vices served primarily to stimulate and guide examination of the individual conscience. For Sachs (and for his contemporaries) the vices are used to critique 'anti-social behavior' and to legitimate social hierarchy.

This is a shift in emphasis rather than a completely new conception of vice. Medieval people certainly saw individual sin as having negative consequences for the community.[18] But frequently, consideration of these social consequences started with examination of the individual conscience. By contrast, in Sachs's play, vice serves first to condemn specific acts that disrupt peace and order by breaking bonds of community and subverting power relations and, second, to stigmatize those marginal to the community: the poor, subservient and dishonorable. Only at the very end of the play and only very briefly do the effects of sin and vice on the individual conscience come into play, as Cain laments the murder of his brother Abel. I am not arguing that sixteenth-century Lutherans placed greater emphasis on community while their counterparts in the Middle Ages placed greater emphasis on the individual. But what I do hope to suggest is that the Sachs play bears witness to and participates in a process of reconstruction of a moral system that connected the behavior of the individual and the community of which he or she was a part in different ways.

Hans Sachs and the catechism legend

Hans Sachs (1494–1576) was an enormously popular and prolific writer. *The Unequal Children of Eve* was one of over two hundred plays he wrote. His literary production also included prose dialogues, songs and over two thousand poems. Trained as a cobbler in his native Nuremberg, he learned the craft of

on the seven deadly sins and the vices, see R. Newhauser, 'Introduction: Cultural Construction and the Vices', in *Seven Deadly Sins*, pp. 1–17. For an exception to the general focus on the seven deadly sins in the Middle Ages, see H. Kallendorf, 'Dressed to the Sevens, or Sin in Style: Fashion Statements by the Deadly Vices in Spanish Baroque *Autos Sacramentales*', in *Seven Deadly Sins*, pp. 145–82.

17 Bossy, 'Arithmetic'.

18 See S. E. Hill, '"The Ooze of Gluttony": Attitudes towards Food, Eating, and Excess in the Middle Ages', in *Seven Deadly Sins*, pp. 57–70.

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'master singing' as a young man. When he discovered the teachings of Martin Luther in 1520, he immediately put his formidable artistic talents in the service of the reformer's cause. He was inventive and adept at dramatizing Luther's message and doctrines in ways that made them accessible and appealing to his fellow artisans.[19] *The Unequal Children of Eve* is a wonderful example of his ability to blend the didactic and the entertaining. Within the well-known drama of the murder of Abel he embedded what might otherwise have been a fairly dry recitation of the catechism, Decalogue and Lord's Prayer. Cain and his brothers provide cautionary examples of behavior to be avoided, but they also afford significant comic relief.

Hans Sachs did not invent this story about God testing the children of Adam and Eve on their catechism. His play was one of about twenty different versions produced in the sixteenth century by Lutheran writers.[20] These writers adapted a folk tale that had circulated in various versions and in various vernaculars (including German) in the late Middle Ages.[21] The folk tale runs as follows: After the Fall, Adam and Eve had many children (as many as a thousand in some versions). One day, God comes to visit Eve and the children to see how they are doing. Eve sees God coming and is embarrassed for him to see how many children she has because this reveals how much sex she has had, so she hides some of them under hay and straw. She presents the others to God when he arrives. God blesses the children he sees with riches and happiness; the ones hidden in the straw are left with poverty and misery. This, according to the tale, is the origin of the differences in wealth and fortune in the world. In some versions of the story, the hidden children are turned into apes, toads or fairies. But it is the version in which the riches of the world are unequally distributed that gets picked up by sixteenth-century Lutheran writers.

In 1539, Martin Luther's close associate and fellow reformer Philip Melanchthon retold this story in a letter he wrote to Count Johann von Wied, the nephew and ward of Hermann von Wied, the elector-archbishop of Cologne.[22] In this letter, Melanchthon addresses the rights and duties of Christian rulers and the proper education of future rulers. He assures the count that 'the distinction of ranks was divinely created'[23] and that God endowed those he had destined to

19 G. Strauss, 'Sachs, Hans', in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation*, 4 vols., ed. H. J. Hillerbrand (New York, 1996), III, 460.

20 J. Winzer, *Die ungleichen Kinder Evas in der Literatur des 16. Jhs.* (Greifswald, 1908). I discuss many of these versions in *Adam and Eve in the Protestant Reformation* (Cambridge, 2010), ch. 6 'The Children of Adam and Eve'.

21 Winzer, *Die ungleichen Kinder Evas*, p. 7–11.

22 The letter is printed in Philip Melanchthon, *Opera quae supersunt omnia*, ed. K. Gottlieb Brettschneider, 28 vols., Corpus Reformatorum 1–28 (Halle, 1834–60), III, 653–66 (hereafter abbreviated as CR III). On the connections between Melanchthon and Johann and Hermann von Wied, see G. Vogler, 'Wied, Hermann von', in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation*, ed. Hillerbrand, IV, 271–2; H. Klugkist-Hesse, 'Leben und Wirken des Petrus Medmann, geheimen Rates des Kurfursten Hermann von Wied', *Monatshefte fur Rheinische Kirchengeschichte* 26 (1932), 321–48.

23 CR III, 654: 'Nam cum ordinum distinctio divinitus facta sit.'

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rule with finer, nobler natures than the rest of humanity. Melanchthon cautions the count that a noble nature 'unfortunately is often destroyed through laziness or corrupted by bad examples',[24] and he urges him 'to frequently and diligently consider what office God has assigned to [your] heroic race and to strive to refine your inborn divinely given nature through instruction, good habits, discipline and through acquiring knowledge of the liberal arts'.[25] And then he writes, 'But seeing that I have entered into this subject, I cannot resist adding to it a little story . . . not indeed historical, but charming'.[26] In Melanchthon's version of the story, God decides to visit Adam and Eve and their children to comfort them in their afflictions after the Fall. Eve is in the middle of bathing the children when she looks out the window and sees God and a company of angels approaching. Realizing that she will not have enough time to clean up all her children before God and the angels arrive, she quickly hides the unwashed children in the hay and straw. She tells the clean children to stand in a row to await God's entrance into their house, and to bow and extend their right hands to him in greeting when he enters. The children greet God respectfully, and God praises Eve for instructing them so well in good manners. But he wants to know if she has also taught them more important things, namely about God and religious doctrine. Eve assures him that she has and invites God to question the children, starting with Abel, about what they believe. Abel answers by giving a concise account of the creation, the Fall, the promise of salvation through Jesus Christ and the expectation of eternal life. What he recites is essentially a Lutheran catechism because he explicitly speaks of justification by faith alone and repudiates the efficacy of good works. Seth and some unnamed sisters do the same. When they finish, God praises them and congratulates their mother, but he scolds her for hiding the other children from him and orders her to fetch them. At this point Cain and some other unnamed brothers are brought forward. Unlike Abel and Seth they are filthy and disrespectful, and when God asks them what they believe, they give a 'mutilated and corrupt'[27] version of the doctrine their brothers and sisters had recited so perfectly. Among other errors, Cain asserts that God makes the fields fertile when men make the proper sacrifices to him. He also expresses doubt about the forgiveness of sins and life after death and is completely ignorant of the promised savior. God rebukes Cain and his brothers and admonishes them to reform. Then God turns back to the good children and tells Abel that he will be the first priest and Seth that he will be the first prince. To Seth he gives two duties: first, to guard public peace and second, to

24 Ibid.: 'profecto dolendum est saepe vel ignavia extingui, vel corrumpi malis exemplis.'

25 Ibid.: 'Quare te adhortor, primum, ut saepe diligenterque consideres, quod munus attribuerit Deus heroico generi, deinde ut indolem divinitus donatum, doctrina, moribus, disciplina, liberalium atrium cognitione expolire studeas.'

26 Ibid.: 'Sed quoniam in hanc commonefactionem ingressus sum, facere non potui, quin adiicerem narratiunculam, . . . non illam quidem historicam, sed venustam . . .'

27 CR III, 658: 'mutilatum ac corruptam'.

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promote the true religion that his brother is charged to teach.[28] God does not actually deign to speak to Cain any further, but he tells Abel and Seth that their brother and his descendants will be subservient to them. Whereas in the folk tale wealth and position in the social hierarchy were a matter of good or bad luck, in this and other sixteenth-century versions social hierarchy is explicitly linked to a moral hierarchy.

Melanchthon thus transformed the tale into a parable about the legitimacy and necessity of social hierarchy.[29] He explicitly intended his version to remind rulers of their divinely ordained status, to inspire in them a sense of the serious and weighty responsibilities of their office and to encourage them to improve themselves through good education and a sound choice of advisers. Melanchthon's version of this story, which came to be known as the 'catechism legend', was taken up by many other Lutheran writers in the second half of the sixteenth century.[30] These writers produced their own versions of the story, often in the form of dialogues or plays and very often in the vernacular. Many of these authors pitched their versions of the catechism legend at a larger and socially more mixed audience than would have read Melanchthon's original Latin letter.[31] They were trying to speak to the progeny of Cain rather than the descendents of Seth, and there were corresponding shifts in tone and emphasis.[32] These later versions were meant to inculcate proper belief, so that the catechism-testing section was generally significantly longer and more involved. And while Melanchthon's letter was meant to impress upon rulers their duties and responsibilities, later versions in German were meant to impress upon the subordinates the need for obedience and acceptance of their lowly but God-given station in life. The authors of the various versions of the catechism legend linked correct belief and social order: peace was guaranteed

28 For Melanchthon's understanding of the role of Christian princes, see J. M. Estes, *Peace, Order and the Glory of God: Secular Authority and the Church in the Thought of Luther and Melanchthon 1518–1559* (Leiden, 2005).

29 This vision of society as divided into three orders was certainly not new in the sixteenth century. Nor was the argument that such a hierarchical social order is divinely ordained. See G. Duby, *The Three Orders: Feudal Society Imagined*, trans. A. Goldhammer (Chicago, 1980). Especially interesting in this context is Duby's account (p. 253) of the twelfth-century writer Honorius Augustodunensis, who asserted that the three orders were descended from the three sons of Noah. The 'free' were descended from Shem, the 'knights' from Japhet and the 'slaves' from Ham.

30 For a partial list of these authors, see Winzer, *Die ungleichen Kinder Evas*, p. 80 and Crowther, *Adam and Eve*, ch. 6.

31 Melanchthon's letter was translated into German by several authors. See Winzer, *Die ungleichen Kinder Evas*, pp. 22–36.

32 On the use of drama to promulgate religious teaching in the sixteenth century see A. Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion* (Cambridge, 2005), especially chapter 4; J. A. Parente, Jr, *Religious Drama and the Humanist Tradition: Christian Theater in Germany and in the Netherlands 1500–1680* (Leiden, 1987); and G. Ehrstine, *Theater, Culture, and Community in Reformation Bern, 1523–1555* (Leiden, 2002).

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by obedience to secular authority and divine teaching.[33] In Sachs's hands in particular, Melanchthon's 'charming little tale' becomes a much more complex and elaborate story. It has many more characters and more developed dialogue. It is both funnier and more dramatic.

Vice and social order in Sachs's *Unequal Children of Eve*

The first character to speak in *The Unequal Children of Eve* is Eve herself, who begins a mournful soliloquy with the words, 'I am the most wretched woman'.[34] She laments her fatal error in listening to the 'flattering sweet words' ('den schmeichelhafftig süsen wortten') of the 'hellish satanic snake' ('hellisch sathanischen schlangen') and allowing herself to be tricked into eating the 'forbidden fruit' ('verbotten frucht').[35] Driven from Paradise, condemned to bear her children in pain and forced to submit to her husband's will, Eve bitterly regrets the 'great evil [she] has done'.[36]

Adam comes on stage next, greets Eve and tells her that he is 'exhausted and weak' ('müd und mat') from working the 'infertile ground' ('unfruchtbar erdtrich') that bears only 'thistles and thorns' ('distel und dorn') as he struggles to earn his bread 'by the sweat of his brow' ('Inn meines angesichtes schweyß').[37] Eve responds with further self recrimination about the pain and suffering she has brought on her husband, children and all subsequent generations. 'I am the cause of all this misery', she declares.[38]

Adam comforts Eve by reminding her that God has promised to send them a savior, 'the blessed seed of the woman',[39] who will save them from 'eternal death' ('ewigen sterben'). This allusion to a promised 'seed' refers to Genesis 3. 15, the passage in which God tells the serpent who has just tricked Adam and Eve into eating the forbidden fruit, 'And I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed; it shall bruise thy head, and thou

33 My reading of these texts, with their twin concerns about correct belief and social order, is informed by the literature on 'confessionalization' in the second half of the sixteenth century. For an introduction to this rather large literature, see H. Schilling, 'Confessional Europe', in *Handbook of European History 1400–1600*, 2 vols., ed. T. A. Brady *et al.* (Grand Rapids, 1996), II, 641–81; H. Schilling, 'Confessionalization in the Empire: Religious and Societal Change in Germany between 1555 and 1620', in *Religion, Political Culture and the Emergence of Early Modern Society: Essays in German and Dutch History* (Leiden, 1992), pp. 205–45; S. Ehrenpreis and U. Lotz-Heumann, *Reformation und confessionelles Zeitalter. Kontroversen um die Geschichte* (Darmstadt, 2002); and T. Kaufmann, *Konfession und Kultur: Lutherischer Protestantismus in der zweiten Hälfte des Reformationsjahrhunderts* (Tübingen, 2006).

34 Sachs, 'Comedia', p. 54: 'Ich bin das armutseligst weib.'

35 Ibid., pp. 54–5.

36 Ibid., p. 55: 'Ach Got, groß übel hab ich thon.'

37 Ibid.

38 Ibid.: 'Ich bin ein ursach dieser not.'

39 Ibid., p. 56: 'Des weibs gewenedeyter [sic] sam.'

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shalt bruise his heel'.[40] In the sixteenth century, this passage was interpreted as God's first promise of a savior, Christ, for whose sake the sins of humankind would be forgiven. This particular interpretation of Genesis 3. 15 as a reference to Jesus Christ actually predates the sixteenth century, but it became far more prevalent then, especially among Protestants.[41] For example, in the marginal explanatory notes accompanying his famous German translation of the Bible, Martin Luther explained that the 'woman's seed' ('weibes samen') in this passage referred to Christ. Thus, he wrote, in the phrase, 'He will crush your head under his feet', God gives mankind 'the first Gospel and promise of Christ', because this refers to the triumph of Christ over the devil. Christ will 'crush the devil's head', that is, he will conquer his 'reign of death, sin and hell'. Luther further explains that the phrase, 'and you will strike at his heel' refers to the torment and martyrdom that Christ and his followers will suffer at the hands of the devil before Christ's eventual triumph.[42] And he concludes: 'Because Adam and all of his descendants believed [in this promise], they became Christian and blessed after the Fall.'[43]

By starting his play with the Fall, and by having Eve herself recount the story of the Fall and its consequences, Sachs implies that the bad behavior and vicious nature of some of her sons are consequences of the original sin that stains Eve's offspring and corrupts their wills. By associating Cain with the vices of pride, anger and envy, and by portraying Cain's five wicked brothers as representatives or exemplars of particular vices – the traditional lust, gluttony and avarice as well as rabble-rousing and tyranny – Sachs draws on a medieval tradition of depicting the vices as the 'fruits' of original sin.[44] But he turns this medieval tradition to specifically Lutheran ends. Throughout the play Sachs emphasizes the Lutheran belief that human beings after the Fall (post-lapsarian human beings) are so thoroughly depraved that they can only be saved through the freely given yet totally undeserved grace of Christ. Fallen man can do nothing to merit his own salvation, except to have faith in Jesus Christ. The good brothers assert the Lutheran tenets of *sola gratia* and *sola fide* several times as they are tested by God. When asked how he prays, Lamech

40 Genesis 3. 15.

41 Crowther, *Adam and Eve*, pp. 35–45.

42 Martin Luther, *Biblia / das ist / die gantze Heilige Schrifft Deudsch* (Wittemberg, 1524; reprinted in 2 vols., Frankfurt/Main, 1983), I, 2v: 'Denn so gehets auch Christus zutritt den Teufel seinen kopf (das ist sein reich / des tods / sund und helle) So zu trit im der Teufel den fuss (das ist / er tödtet und martert in unn die seinen leiblich).'

43 Ibid., 2v: 'Dis ist das erst Euangelion und verheissung von Christo geschehen auff erden / Das er solt / sund / tod und helle uber winden / und uns von der schlangen gewalt selig machen / Daran Adam gleubt mit allen seinen nach komen / dauon er Christen unn selig worden ist von seinem fall.'

44 For a particularly striking example of this iconography see S. Blöcker, *Studien zur Ikonographie der sieben Todsünden in der niederländischen und deutschen Malerei und Graphik von 1450–1560*, Bonner Studien zur Kunstgeschichte 8 (Münster, 1993), fig. 20.

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tells God that he prays that he might be saved, 'through the blessed seed that you have promised us'.[45] When asked to give a profession of their faith, Seth declares that he believes in the savior 'who will be sent from heaven and who will crush Satan's head and save the human race'.[46] When asked what he believes about the forgiveness of sins, Mathusalach answers that God forgives sins, 'for the sake of the future savior'.[47]

By contrast, Cain and the other bad brothers claim to have no knowledge of the promised savior. In his garbled and truncated version of the Creed, Dathan claims to believe in 'the seed's woman' ('des samens weib') rather than the woman's seed.[48] And Esaw asserts that God will grant eternal life to those who buy it ('abkauffen') from him by making the appropriate sacrifices.[49] Neither of these statements are simple errors; both were intended to mock Catholic beliefs. Dathan's pronouncement about the 'seed's woman' refers to the Catholic veneration of the Virgin Mary. Many Catholic theologians interpreted Genesis 3. 15 as a prophecy about the Virgin Mary and her role in salvation history.[50] For example, the Catholic theologian Johann Dietenberger produced a German translation of the Bible intended to 'correct' Luther's translation. Like Luther, Dietenberger believed that Genesis 3. 15 contains 'the first Gospel and promise of Christ our savior, that he shall overcome sin, death and hell and save us from the power of the snake'.[51] But he also insisted that, 'here in this text the most esteemed virgin, Mary the mother of God (from whom this holy seed Christ came to us) is also announced, foretold and praised'.[52] Similarly, Esaw's belief that salvation can be bought refers to the Catholic practice of buying and selling indulgences, but it also refers more generally to the Catholic view that salvation can be earned through good works. Sachs uses the trope of the vices to emphasize the essential depravity of post-lapsarian humanity, an idea that was central to Luther and his followers because it underlay the doctrines of *sola fide* and *sola gratia*. And at the same time he uses personifications of the vices to stigmatize and satirize Catholic views of salvation.

45 Sachs, 'Comedia', p. 68: 'Durch dein gebenedeyten, samen, / Den du uns hast verheissen!'

46 Ibid., p. 74: 'Der von dem himel wirt gesandt, / Der dem Sathan den kopff zertritt / Unnd menschlich gschlecht erlöset mit.'

47 Ibid., p. 75: 'durch den künfftíng heyland.'

48 Ibid., p. 79.

49 Ibid., p. 80.

50 J. Pelikan, *Mary Through the Centuries: Her Place in the History of Culture* (New Haven, 1996), pp. 26–7.

51 Johann Dietenberger, *Biblia / beider Allt unnd Newen Testamenten* (Mainz, 1534), 2v: 'Und also hat man hie das erst Euangelium und verheyssung von Christo unserm heilant geschehen / daß er solt Sünd / Todt / und helle uberwinden / und uns von der schlangen gewalt erlösen.' On Dietenberger's translation of the Bible, see Crowther, *Adam and Eve*, pp. 37–9.

52 Dietenberger, *Biblia*, 2v: 'Auß disem folget / daß hie in disem Text / auch die hochwirdigst Jungfraw Gottes mutter Maria (von welcher uns diser heilsamer samen Christus komen ist) angezeigt / geweissaget / unnd gepreiset wirt. . .'

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In *The Unequal Children of Eve*, the bad brothers and the vices they represent disturb the peace, harmony and order of post-lapsarian society. In this respect, Sachs's portrayal of the vices differs from that of his pre-Reformation predecessors. In the penitential and pastoral literature of the Middle Ages, the vices primarily served to stimulate and guide examination of the individual conscience. Although an individual's vices could have consequences for the community as a whole, vice and sin could be private, known only to the penitent, his or her confessor and God. By contrast, Sachs uses the vices to critique what he saw as 'anti-social' behavior: disobedience to authority, both parental and divine; quarreling and brawling; and spending time drinking and playing games rather than working or praying. His critique echoes other Lutheran moralists who condemned fighting and carousing.[53] Like them Sachs focused his criticism on actions that disturbed public peace and the orderly functioning of a community. The effect of sin on an individual's conscience is touched on only fleetingly at the end of the play, where Cain expresses remorse for killing Abel.

Sachs links vice and discord from the very beginning of the play. The first time Adam speaks about Cain, he refers to his eldest son as a 'gallows rascal' ('galgen-strick')[54] and later he refers collectively to his wicked sons as a 'gallows gang' ('galgen-rott').[55] Adam implies that his sons are more than just sinful, they are actually criminals – and this foreshadows the eventual murder of Abel. Cain and his wicked brothers are consistently disobedient, defying first their parents and then God. Adam, who has been told of the Lord's impending visit by the angel Gabriel, asks Eve to bathe the children so they will be ready to receive their distinguished guest. While Abel readily submits to his mother's grooming, Cain repeatedly refuses to let her wash him. Finally, she gives up in disgust, exclaiming, 'Since he doesn't want to be bathed, let him be foul alone!'[56] 'The Lord will find Cain, along with the other disobedient children', she says, 'foul-smelling [and] filthy as a sow. . .'[57] Eve later complains to God that she has tried to teach Cain and her other bad sons to pray but that they will not heed her lessons. 'Oh dear Lord', she cries, 'I teach [them] constantly, [but] no punishment helps.'[58] Here Eve asserts that she has done everything that a good parent would be expected to do, up to and including corporal punishment, to insure that her offspring will be pious, industrious and disciplined.[59] Cain and his gang obstinately refuse to learn about Christian doctrine, to worship God properly and to honor and obey their parents. Disobedience

53 L. Roper, *The Holy Household: Women and Morals in Reformation Augsburg* (Oxford, 1989); and B. A. Tlusty, *Bacchus and Civic Order: The Culture of Drink in Early Modern Germany* (Charlottesville, 2001).
54 Sachs, 'Comedia', p. 57.
55 Ibid., p. 64.
56 Ibid., p. 63.
57 Ibid., p. 64.
58 Ibid., p. 79.
59 On parental authority and corporal punishment in the sixteenth century, see S. E. Ozment, *When Fathers Ruled: Family Life in Reformation Europe* (Cambridge, MA, 1983).

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and impiety are tightly linked in this play. Ignorance of prayer and doctrine springs from disobedience to one's parents.

Cain not only refuses to do what his parents tell him to do, he defies God as well. When Abel tells him about God's impending visit, Cain professes indifference, saying, 'If God doesn't want me in heaven, the Devil will gladly take me'.[60] When God finally arrives, Cain turns his back to him. Forced by his parents to acknowledge the divine guest, to their horror he offers God his left hand instead of his right.[61]

Throughout the story, Cain and his brothers are violent as well as undisciplined. When Cain first appears, he is running away from a fight and his hands are covered with blood. He insists that he would rather be 'washed with blood' than with soap and water, a blasphemous echo of the Christian notion that sins are washed clean by the blood of Christ. He repeatedly professes his love of violence and threatens to strike his saintly little brother Abel, who reproaches him for constantly fomenting 'discord' ('hader').[62]

A particularly telling indication of the changed function of the vices in the Sachs play is the way lust is represented. Sachs designates one of the wicked brothers, Esaw, 'the lustful' ('der wollüstig'), and has him declare that God's word gives him little joy and that he prefers to devote himself to the pursuit of sensual pleasures.[63] Yet throughout the play there is almost no other mention of the sexual sins that once fell under the rubric of the vice of lust. By contrast, as Thomas Tentler has shown, pre-Reformation manuals for confessors often contained long and elaborate lists of sexual sins. These lists included not only extra-marital sexual activities (fornication and adultery), but also a large number of sexual sins that could take place between married couples (including forbidden positions and times of intercourse).[64] This intense interrogation of married persons about intimate spousal relations was criticized and rejected by Martin Luther and his followers.[65] However, Lutherans, including Sachs, condemned pre- and extra-marital sex because these sins weakened or sundered the familial bonds that were seen as the bedrock of social order.[66] Accordingly, while Sachs has one of the good brothers, Lamech, recite and explain the command not to commit adultery,[67] he makes no mention of sexual sins within marriage. Quite the reverse, in fact. Although in many versions of

60 Sachs, 'Comedia', p. 61: 'Wil mich der Herr nit haben wol / Im himel, mich hat der teuffel gern.'

61 On the significance of this gesture, see R. Hertz, 'The Pre-eminence of the Right Hand: A Study in Religious Polarity', in *Right and Left: Essays on Dual Symbolic Classification*, ed. and trans. R. Needham (Chicago, 1973), pp. 3–31.

62 Sachs, 'Comedia', p. 59.

63 Ibid., p. 77.

64 T. N. Tentler, *Sin and Confession on the Eve of the Reformation* (Princeton, 1977), pp. 162–232.

65 Ibid., pp. 349–63.

66 Roper, *Holy Household*, passim.

67 Sachs, 'Comedia', p. 72.

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the folk tale on which the catechism legend was based Eve hides some of her children because she is ashamed for God to see the evidence of her excessive sexual desire, Melanchthon, Sachs and other Lutheran writers who retold this story omit all reference to sexual shame on Eve's part. To the extent that she is ashamed of some of her children, it is only because they are filthy, unruly and willfully ignorant, not because she and Adam have had too much sex.

In *The Unequal Children of Eve*, Sachs uses vice to explain and justify the hierarchical order of society. Recall that Melanchthon's version of the catechism legend was addressed to those in power and was intended to convince them of their responsibility to support the 'true' religion and to protect public peace. Sachs's version of the same story was addressed to his fellow Nuremberg townsmen. He, too, emphasizes the legitimacy of social hierarchy and the divinely given power of rulers to enforce religious orthodoxy and social order. But he is trying to convince the subservient and poor that their lot in life is just, necessary and divinely ordained. Accordingly, Sachs seems at various points in the play to anticipate and to attempt to answer criticism and resentment of the unequal distribution of power and wealth in the world. In *The Unequal Children of Eve*, Cain actually complains about the unjustness of God and is so angry over God's establishment of social hierarchy that he murders Abel. Cain's blasphemous comment to Abel that, 'If God doesn't want me in heaven, the Devil will gladly take me',[68] could be heard as questioning the justice of God. In effect, Cain accuses God of unfair favoritism toward Abel. Such an utterance signals not unbelief but anger at perceived injustice. Cain implies that God has turned away from him, not the other way around.[69] Sachs's depiction of Cain and his brothers works to neutralize this accusation of unfairness in a number of ways. They are depicted as rejecting God far more consciously and actively than in Melanchthon's version. Recall that in Melanchthon's version, Eve is in the middle of washing her children when she sees God and she quickly hides the unwashed children, including Cain. There is thus an element of bad luck; they were simply at the end of the line. In Sachs's play, Adam is informed of God's impending visit by the angel Gabriel a full day in advance so Eve has ample time to clean the house and prepare the children. Although Eve repeatedly orders Cain to come in the house and be washed, each time he refuses.

Finally, Sachs's play starts with a soliloquy by Eve on the Fall and its consequences. This opening has effect of enhancing the theme of the Fall in the drama: when some of her sons turn away from God, this appears to be a kind of second and further fall from a state in which all human beings are equal into one in which some people are subordinate to others. This is an interesting and

68 Ibid.: 'Wil mich der Herr nit haben wol / Im himel, mich hat der teuffel gern.'

69 My reading of this passage is informed by F. Loetz, 'How to do Things with God: Blasphemy in Early Modern Switzerland', in *Ways of Knowing: Ten Interdisciplinary Essays*, ed. M. Lindemann (Boston, 2004), pp. 137–51, especially her discussion of the 1529 blasphemy trial of Heini Dahinden on pp. 149–50. Dahinden reportedly said: 'Dann wil mich got nit, so ist der tüffel min vast [sehr] fro' (p. 150).

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clever rhetorical move. Sachs subtly links the original Fall, which obviously had biblical basis, with the second 'Fall' depicted in the play, which just as obviously did not.

While Sachs's intention may have been to justify the actions of God in the play, the effect seems more ambivalent. In her insightful analysis of this drama, the historian Lyndal Roper suggests that Cain would have been an attractive character for a sixteenth-century audience.[70] Cain and his brothers glorify eating, drinking and fighting, all of which were important parts of the urban male culture of the sixteenth century. While moralists and reformers may have condemned fighting and carousing, these were integral to sixteenth-century notions of masculinity and male honor. Roper persuasively argues that, while Cain is ostensibly presented as a cautionary figure, 'the writing actually revels in Cain's technicolor masculinity'.[71] Roper further argues that a certain amount of fighting and violent behavior among young men was tolerated by civic authorities in sixteenth-century cities because this was precisely the group that would be expected (indeed required) to take up arms in defense of their city should the need arise.[72]

Although in Melanchthon's version of the story God effectively authorizes Seth (and by extension all rulers) to use force against disturbers of the peace, Sachs is both more cynical and more ambivalent about the need to maintain social order through force. The inclusion of executioners and bailiffs among the descendents of Cain is telling. These were the people who exercised violence in the service of civic, territorial or imperial authority. The dishonor pertained to them and not to those in power. There is a way in which Sachs simultaneously evokes a condemnation of violence and an acknowledgment of its place, even its necessity, in the social order. One can also note that Sachs includes both tyranny (in the figure of Nemrot) and rabble-rousing (in the figure of Dathan) among the vices. The inclusion of tyranny as a vice, which can be found in other work by Sachs as well,[73] seems to signal a critique of the abuse of power through oppression and injustice (and violence). But the inclusion of rabble-rousing as a vice also suggests a critique of social protest. And in a final self-deprecating piece of irony, Sachs includes the shoemakers among the descendents of Cain and his wicked brothers. His audience would have been well aware that this was Sachs's own trade.

70 L. Roper, 'Blood and Codpieces: Masculinity in the Early Modern German Town', in her *Oedipus and the Devil: Witchcraft, Sexuality and Religion in Early Modern Europe* (London and New York, 1994), pp. 107–24; on the Sachs play, see pp. 116–17.

71 Ibid., p. 116.

72 Ibid. This point is also made by B. A. Tlusty, 'Rumor, Fear, and Male Civic Duty during a Confessional Crisis', in *Masculinity in the Reformation Era*, ed. S. H. Hendrix and S. C. Karant-Nunn, Sixteenth Century Essays and Studies 83 (Kirksville, 2008), pp. 140–63 (pp. 142–3).

73 For example, Hans Sachs, 'Klag der wilden Holtzleüt / vber die vngetrewen Welt' (Nürnberg, 1545), reproduced in M. Geisberg, *The German Single-Leaf Woodcut: 1500–1550*, rev. and ed. W. L. Strauss, 4 vols. (New York, 1974), p. 1055.

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The place of virtue

I have dwelt at length on the topic of vice and on the ways in which Sachs appropriated the traditional trope of the vices to promote a specifically Lutheran agenda. I have demonstrated that Sachs used the concept of vice in articulating a new moral system that linked piety with passive acceptance of God's saving grace and with obedience to earthly authority and acceptance of social hierarchy. In my conclusion I turn to the topic of virtue and to Sachs's portrayal of Abel and the other good brothers.

The catechism legend required at least three brothers to represent the traditional three orders of society: the clergy, the nobility (or rulers) and the peasantry (or more generally the subordinate classes). Many authors, including Melanchthon, use Seth as the third brother. But Sachs increases the number of brothers to twelve, six good and six bad. While he makes five of the bad brothers representatives of different vices, he does not make the good brothers representatives of different virtues. He could have chosen to draw on a lively medieval literary and iconographic tradition of battles of virtues and vices, but instead he chose to leave the good brothers relatively undistinguishable.[74] In terms of the action of the play they are less interesting than the bad brothers, who are raucous, bawdy and sarcastic. The good brothers appear a little colorless beside them, being generically good rather than distinguished by separate virtues. But I think this is a deliberate choice on Sachs's part and one in keeping with the new moral system he sought to represent.

In the medieval tradition, the virtues were often seen as contrary to the sins, that is, as providing remedies for the vices.[75] A person could atone for sins by sincerely repenting and performing virtuous acts. Salvation could be earned through a life of virtue. For Sachs, who wanted to present the Lutheran belief that post-lapsarian human beings could not earn their salvation through virtuous acts, the motif of the battle of vices and virtues would not have served his purpose, and actually would have undercut his message. Instead, he has all the good brothers make correct statements of doctrine and professions of faith in the doctrines of *sola fide* and *sola gratia*. They are saved because they believe in the promised savior, the 'woman's seed', not because of any merit on their part or any specific virtuous acts they have performed.

I would go farther and assert that Abel may have been the ideal hero for a new Lutheran drama, because he could be presented as a passive hero, aware of his impending doom and yet utterly obedient to God to the end.[76] In Sachs's

74 Siegfried Müller notes that the personifications of the virtues continued to be important in Lutheran art of the sixteenth century. See S. Müller, 'Repräsentationen des Luthertums – Disziplinierung und konfessionelle Kultur in Bildern. Ein Problemaufriß anhand von regionalen Beispielen', *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung* 29.2 (2002), 215–55.

75 See R. Newhauser, 'Preaching the "Contrary Virtues"', *Mediaeval Studies* 70 (2008), 135–62.

76 On the importance of a passive hero to Protestant dramatists, see Parente, *Religious Drama*, p. 85.

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play, Abel is an innocent victim, but not the unsuspecting one that the plain text of Genesis 4 might suggest.[77] Sachs's Abel walks knowingly to his death. Abel's awareness of his fate is signaled early in the play when he says to Cain, 'I think you will become a murderer'.[78] After God condemns Cain and his ilk to poverty, dishonor and subservience, he charges Abel with their instruction and improvement: 'Therefore Abel you have the duty to give your brothers thorough instruction!'[79] And Abel, despite knowing the danger his violent brothers pose to him, accepts this charge without hesitation, promising, 'Lord, I will not spare any effort'.[80] In his new role as spiritual teacher and guide, Abel asks Cain if he would like to make an offering to God. Cain responds ominously: 'Yeah, you go first!'[81] While Abel kneels by his sacrifice and prays, Cain, following Satan's directions, strikes him dead. Sachs depicts Abel's death as a noble self-sacrifice. He is aware but resigned, unquestioningly following the commands of God even when they lead to death. In this Sachs draws on a long-standing typological association between Abel and Christ, but he turns this typology to the service of a Lutheran anthropology of fallen man.

Conclusion

When I first read Sachs's *The Unequal Children of Eve*, I found it surprising that a Lutheran author had chosen to use personifications of vices in ways so reminiscent of the medieval tradition of the seven deadly sins. After all, this tradition was part of a literature tied to the sacrament of penance, a sacrament that Luther criticized and ultimately rejected. And yet, as I have shown, Sachs appropriated the trope of the vices to teach Lutheran doctrines and promote a Lutheran agenda. He used the vices to criticize subversive and 'anti-social' behavior, to justify social hierarchy and to mock Catholic beliefs.

The juxtaposition of vices and Ten Commandments in a play by one of the most dedicated and prolific Lutheran polemicists of the sixteenth century strongly qualifies John Bossy's claim that the seven deadly sins disappeared in this period.[82] Bossy argued that the moral system defined by the seven deadly sins was replaced in the sixteenth century by a moral system defined by the Ten Commandments. In his view, this shift marked a dramatic change in Western Christianity. While the seven deadly sins 'taught fairly effectively

77 There is an interesting contrast here with the medieval depiction of the murder of Abel described by S. Pohl, 'Negotiating Honor and State Authority: The Prosecution and Punishment of Manslaughter in Zürich and Southwest Germany, 1350–1600' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1997), p. 24.

78 Sachs, 'Comedia', p. 59: 'Ich main, du wölst ein mörder wern.'

79 Ibid., p. 81: 'Darumb, Abel, hab dir das amptt! / Dein brüder baser undterricht!'

80 Ibid.: 'Herr, mein fleiß will ich sparen nicht.'

81 Ibid.: 'Ja wol; fach du am ersten on!'

82 Bossy, 'Arithmetic', 214.

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a social or community ethics',[83] the Ten Commandments taught a 'moral code which was stronger on obligations to God [and] somewhat narrower on obligations to the neighbor'.[84] According to Bossy, this substitution of commandments for vices was most evident and the transition most complete in German Protestant culture.

My analysis of *The Unequal Children of Eve* suggests that if there was a transition of the sort Bossy suggested between these two moral systems, it was neither sudden nor complete. Lutherans like Sachs were indeed concerned to define a new moral system consonant with their more pessimistic view of post-lapsarian human nature. But like their medieval predecessors they struggled to reconcile their ideal of a community bound together by brotherly love with what they perceived as a reality in which the vices of pride, anger, envy, greed, lust and gluttony could only be held in check by force. What better way to dramatize this tension than with the very first failure of brotherly love, the story of Cain and Abel?

83 Ibid., p. 215.
84 Ibid., p. 217.

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INDEX

Page references in italics indicate tables and illustrations

Aachen
  Council of 816 33–4, 36, 37, 41
  Council of 817 37, 39, 41
Abelard, Peter 50
  Sic et non 94
accidia see *acedia*
acedia (despair/sloth)
  in Aquinas 91, 93, *103*, 266
  in Beheim 287, 292
  in Bosch *265*, 266, 275
  and Carolingian monasticism 12, 19–21, 28–30, 33, 35–6, 39
  in Dante 233
  daughters 210
  in Elizabethan drama 178
  in Gerson 136, 153
  meaning 21–2, 35–6
  in medieval music 201
  in morality plays 174
  and passion of Christ 112, 113–15, 119, 121
  in Reformation polemic 170, 172 n.48
  studies 10
  in *Vices and Virtues* 71
acronyms of deadly sins 159, 202
acrostics, in medieval music 195
adulation, in Gerson 147–8, 150, 151, 153
Ælfric, homilies 67–8, 73–4
agency, and arrogance 48–9, 56, 61
Alan of Lille
  and arrogance 51, 52, 53, 57, 59–60
  Summa de arte praedicatoria 51, 69
Albert the Great 87 n.6
Alcuin
  and Benedict of Aniane 33
  list of deadly sins 47, 74, 89 n.17
  On the Virtues and the Vices 31, 35, 47, 74
  and *Vices and Virtues* 74
Aldhelm, 'Carmen de uirginitate' 78
Alexander of Ashby 69
Alexander of Hales, *Summa universae theologiae* 62, 87 n.6
Alexander of Stavensby, *Statutes* 59 n.38
Alford, John 175
allegories of sins 14, 192, 223–4
  in Gerson 134, 140 n.31, 149–50, 154
  in Langland 180
  in morality plays 174
  in Spenser 158, 185–7
  in *Vices and Virtues* 65–6, 73
Allen, Elizabeth 249
ambiguity, and good and evil 8–9, 154, 182
ambition, in Aquinas *105*
Ambrose of Milan 74, 291
anchorites
  and *Ancrene Wisse* 70, 72, 79, 80
  and order of sins 201
  and *Vices and Virtues* 79–82
Ancrene Wisse (Ancrene Riwle) 66, 67, 70, 76, 81
  audience 72, 76, 79–80, 82
  and division of text 82
Anderson, Judith H. 186
anger (*ira*)
  in Aquinas 88, 91, 92, 93, 97, *105*
  in Beheim 287, 292
  in Bosch 270, 271
  in Dante 233
  daughters *103*, *104*, *105*, 210
  in Elizabethan drama 178
  and gender 8
  in Gerson 136, 137
  gravity 97
  in Lane 183
  in medieval music 201

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All use subject to http://about.jstor.org/terms

in morality plays 175
as passion 92
and passion of Christ 121
in Peraldus 290
in *Piers Plowman* 181
in Reformation polemic 170
and righteous indignation 182
in Sachs 305–6, 312
in *Vices and Virtues* 71
Anglicanism, and deadly sins tradition 163
Aniane monastery 32–3, 34
animals, as personifying deadly sins 182, 183–6, 226, 293–5, 301–2
Anselm of Canterbury, *De custodia interioris hominis* 73
anthropology, medieval 3
apostasy, in Aquinas *102*
appetitus excellentiae 54
Aquinas, Thomas
and asceticism 101–2
and beatitude 101–2
and daughters of sins 86, 90, 94–6, 99
and deadly sins 2–3, 85–106, *102–6*, 264, 266
De malo 13, 85, 88
and humility and arrogance 52–3
and moral dualism 98–9, 101
and orders of gravity and cardinality 97–8, 99
and parallelism 99–101, 102
and passion, virtue and sin 85, 90–4
Scriptum super Sententiis Petri Lombardi 85–6 n.1
Sentences 85–6 n.1
Summa theologiae 2–3, 13, 85–8, 90–1, 93
and theologians as martyrs 139
and virtues 13, 88, 91, *102–6*
Ardo, *Life of Benedict of Aniane* 19, 23–9, 32, 34, 37, 41–2
Aristotle
and Aquinas 85, 88, 93, 100
and virtues and vices 11, 13, 102
Arlt, Wulf 209 n.49
arrogance
21st-century views 44
and agency 48–9, 56, 61
in Aquinas 53
in Beheim 290
changes in meaning 49, 59–61
and comparison 50, 52, 58–9, 61
in Dante 235
as estimate of a frail mind 62–3
and ignorance 54
in medieval treatises 12, 43–64
English 57–64
French 54–7
as performance 63–4
as political 12, 46–9, 52–3
and pride 10, 43–7, 49, 51–4, 57, 60–1
quod non habet tradition 49, 58–61
superiority to others tradition 50, 52, 58–9, 61
see also pride; vainglory
ars moriendi tradition 160
ars nova 205
arts, visual
in Dante 235–8
and deadly sins 6–7, 15, 191, 232
asceticism
and Aquinas 101–2
monastic 24–5, 41–2, 49, 89, 159, 287
Athanasian Creed 77, 83
Auden, W. H. 225
audiences
for *Ancrene Wisse* 72, 76, 79–80, 82
and Gerson 132–4, 136, 140–1, 153–4
for preaching 3, 5
for songs 8
for *Vices and Virtues* 76–84
Augustine of Hippo
and arrogance 45 n.4
as authority 291
Confessions 227, 272, 276, 277–8
and liturgical music 220–1
and lust 292
and passion of Christ 116–17, 124, 127
and passions 90
and pride 93
and repetition of sin 262
and the senses 149, 155
and vainglory 51
Augustinian Order, and pastoral care 79
Aureum de peccatis capitalibus et eorum speciebus opusculum 53 n.22
authority, intellectual 133, 134–6, 138–42, 145–6, 151–6

This content downloaded from 155.69.24.171 on Thu, 12 May 2016 13:01:48 UTC
All use subject to http://about.jstor.org/terms

avarice (*avaritia*)
21st-century views 43–4, 224
in Aquinas 88, 91, 93
in Beheim 287, 292, 293
in Bonaventure 162
in Bosch 263–4
in Dante 233
daughters 210
in Elizabethan drama 178
in Gerson 13, 137, 147–8, 153
in Lane 183
in medieval music 199, 201
in morality plays 175
and passion of Christ 115, 118–19, 122
in Peraldus 232
in *Piers Plowman* 181
in Reformation polemic 171
in Sachs 306, 312
and satiety 91
see also covetousness; greed; usury
avaritia see avarice; covetousness; greed; usury
Ayenbite of Inwit 84

Babington Plot 170–1
backbiting
in Aquinas 86, 97, *104*
in Chaucer 243
in *Vices and Virtues* 71
Bacon, Roger 273
Ballard, John 171
Ball, John 181–2
Barefield, Laura 240, 249
Basil the Great, Rule 26
Bast, Robert J. 289
beatitudes
in Dante 237
and happiness 101–2
as seven 89, 100, *106*, 226
Bede, Venerable, and *Vices and Virtues* 73, 74, 76
behavior, and inner state 142, 146–7, 150
Beheim, Michel
as *compilator* 286
Little Book of the Seven Deadly Sins 15, 282–303
source texts 286, 288–95
and theology of piety 284–5
Von den Juden (Concerning the Jews) 286–7
Von der kinthait unsers hern 286
belief, right (*fides recta*) 74, 83
Benedict of Aniane
and asceticism 24–5
Codex regularum 26
Concordia regularum 26, 30–1, 36
and culture of work 23–9, 30–1
and monastic reforms 12, 19–21, 23, 32–7, 39, 42
Testimoniorum nubecula de incarnatione Domini 29
Vita 19, 23–9, 32, 34, 37, 41–2
Benedict of Nursia, *see* Rule of Benedict
Benson, C. D. 254 n.40
Bent, M. 210 n.50
Bernard of Clairvaux 50
and repetition of sin 262
Steps of Humility and Pride 49–50, 53, 54
Bible
in medieval music 191–2, 198
vernacular 284, 313
Biller, Peter 136–7 n.15, 138–9 n.24
Blanchard, John 144 n.42
blasphemy
in Aquinas 97, *102*, *105*
in Reformation polemic 171
in *Roman de Fauvel* 209
blindness of mind, as daughter of lust 95, *102*, *105*
Bloomfield, Morton W. 1–3, 28, 149
and analogy and parallelism 89, 101
and *Ancrene Wisse* 70
and decline of deadly sins tradition 157, 223–5, 238
and evil 88
and Gerson 132–3 n.1
and Gower 244 n.18
and modernity 157, 159–61, 164–5
and Peraldus 232 n.23
and Purgatory 231
and vices and animals 293
and *Vices and Virtues* 65–6, 71
Blumenberg, Hans 165
boastfulness (*iactantia*) 51
as daughter of vainglory 94, *104*, *105*
body
rejection 89

This content downloaded from 155.69.24.171 on Thu, 12 May 2016 13:01:48 UTC
All use subject to http://about.jstor.org/terms

royal 150 n.69
see also asceticism
Boethius, Anicius Manlius Severinus, *Consolation of Philosophy* 91 n.22
Bonaventure, *Commentaria* 87, 114 n.22, 162, 228
Bosch, Hieronymus
The Field has Eyes, the Forest has Ears 278–81, *279*
Tabletop of the Seven Deadly Sins 7, 15, *260*, 261–81, 295–6
Bossy, John
and decline of deadly sins tradition 43, 157, 161–5, 307, 319–20
and Gerson 136–7 n.15, 140 n.29
Boyle, Leonard 13, 88
Butterfield, A. 241 n.7

Cabaniss, A. 25 n.23
Cain and Abel story 304–7, 308–10, 311–19
Caput works 221
care, pastoral, in medieval literature 3–5, 53, 65–84, 135
caritas see charity
Carletti, Angelo, *Summa angelica de casibus conscientia* 63
Carpenter, Alexander, *Summa seu destructorium vitiorum* 63–4
Carpenter, Richard 172–3
Carruthers, M. 277 n.32
Casagrande, Carla and Vecchio, Silvana 11, 162, 166, 227
Cassian, John
and arrogance 45 n.4
Collationes 31, 78
and daughters of sins 9–10, 86
De institutis coenobiorum 31
list of deadly sins 13, 66, 71, 77, 83, 88, 159, 223, 290
and moral dualism 96
and sin as sickness 89
and Western monasticism 28, 35, 77–8, 226, 287
The Castle of Perseverance 174–5
catechesis
and Beheim 289
and deadly sins tradition 13–14, 53–4, 69 n.25, 72, 158, 163–4, 166
and Decalogue 15–16, 162–3
and Sachs 307–11
catechism
of Council of Trent 163
Lutheran 306, 309–10
catechism legend 307–11, 316, 318
Catholicism
and Protestant polemic 158, 169–72, 179, 180, 185–8, 313
in Tudor England 165–6, 166-72
Chaillou de Pesstain 203, 213
A chanter m'er (song) 193
charity (*caritas*) 74
and envy 15, *103*, 239–41, 244, 249–51, 254–9, 270
and Gerson 136–9, 141–2, 150
and pride 269
and sloth 266
Charlemagne
and arrogance and power 47
De litteris colendis 31–2
and monastic labor 38
and tithes 29
Charles V of France 140–1 n.31, 144
Charles VI of France 13, 140 n.31, 141–2, 145–52
chastity
in Aquinas *105*
in *Vices and Virtues* 80
Chaucer, Geoffrey, *Canterbury Tales* 60–1, 162, 240
'The Man of Law's Tale' 240–2, 245–6, 250, 256–8
'The Parson's Tale' 60–1, 162, 241, 243–4, 248–9, 251, 258
'The Tale of Constance' 15, 239–41, 243–58
cheating, in Aquinas *104*
Chertsey, Andrew 63 n.50
child oblation 19, 23, 30
Chrysostom, John 86, 93
civility 62, 287
clamor, in Aquinas *105*
Clark, A. V. 210
Classen, Constance 8
Clement VII, Pope 140–1 n.31, 144, 148
clergy
authority 133, 134–6, 138–9, 141–2, 156
critiques 5, 14, 182, 198, 199, 203

This content downloaded from 155.69.24.171 on Thu, 12 May 2016 13:01:48 UTC
All use subject to http://about.jstor.org/terms

education 69
and misogyny 5–6
and oral confession 75
as scapegoats 171
stereotypes 158
Cogan, M. 229 n.17
Columbanus, and asceticism 27 n.29
Combes, André 155 n.97
comparison, *see* arrogance
conductus 14, 16, 198
13th-century 198–201, 202
by Philip the Chancellor *196–7*
confession 6, 159, 179, 180, 188, 227, 232
in Aquinas 99
and Decalogue 136–7 n.15, 137, 163
and decline of deadly sins tradition 157, 162–5
and Fourth Lateran Council 3, 69, 226–7
in Gerson 135–7
in medieval morality plays 173–5
by women 10
see also manuals
Conrad of Hirsau, *De fructibus carnis at spiritus* 49, 50, 53, 54
Conrad of Saxony 14, 223, 232
contemplation
and academic theology 155–6
and happiness 101
and labor 20, 33, 36, 39–41
contention, as daughter of vainglory 94, *103*, *105*
context
discursive 12–13
and vices in literature 2
contumely, as daughter of anger *105*
Cosin, John, *Collection of Private Devotions* 163, 172
court
English, critique 14, 178, 180–8
French, critique 13, 132–5, 140–56, 202–4
German 282, 289
satanic 182–3
Courtenay, William 143 n.41
covetousness
in Aquinas 97, *103–4*
in Beheim 293
in Reformation polemic 169
in Stuart drama 179
see also avarice; greed; usury
craftiness, as daughter of covetousness *103*
Craun, Edwin D. 240–1, 243, 250–1
creeds, in *Vices and Virtues* 77
Crowley, Robert 180
cruelty, in Aquinas 105
curiosity, as daughter of pride 10, *105*, 155
cursing
in Aquinas 97, *104*
in *Vices and Virtues* 71

Dahnk, E. 210 n.51
D'Ailly, Pierre 139–40, 144 n.42
Dante Alighieri
influences on 231–3, 234–5
Inferno 99, 116 n.30, 223, 228–30, 234, 237
Paradiso 238
Purgatorio 14–15, 99, 223–38
D'Avray, David 113
Decalogue 11
as basis for confession 136–7 n.15, 137, 163
medieval use 162
Reformation use 16, 161–3, 168, 307, 319–20
deceit
in Aquinas 71
in Gerson 153
in Gower 243
in Sachs 306
De disciplina scholarium 278–80
de Jong, Mayke 22, 30, 38
Dekker, Thomas, *The Seuen deadly Sinnes of London* 172 n.48, 186 n.99
Delaruelle, E. 21 n.5
Delehaye, H. 28
Denis the Carthusian 274
Summa de vitiis 53 n.22
derision, in Aquinas *104*
despair (*desperacio*)
in Aquinas 97, *103*, *105*
in *Roman de Fauvel* 209
see also acedia
desperacio see despair

This content downloaded from 155.69.24.171 on Thu, 12 May 2016 13:01:48 UTC
All use subject to http://about.jstor.org/terms

detraction
in Aquinas 95, *103*
in Gerson 146
in 'Tale of Constance' 241, 243–5, 252
De vera et falsa poenitentia 74–5
devil
in Chaucer 250
in Guillaume de Machaut 215
and lust 96
in modern culture 165
and the senses 149–50
Dietenberger, Johann 313
discernment, spiritual, in Gerson 149, 154, 156
discord
in Aquinas 86
as daughter of vainglory 94, *103*, *105*
in Gerson 137, 155
in *Roman de Fauvel* 209
in Sachs 314, 316
discretion, and arrogance 62
disdain, in Gerson 146
disobedience (*inobedientia*)
in Aquinas 94, 97, *104*
as daughter of vainglory 94, *105*
in Sachs 314–15
in *Vices and Virtues* 71, 80, 82–3
dissimulation, in Aquinas *104*
Donizetti, Mario 225
drama
and medieval music 195
in medieval preaching 107–31
morality plays 173–5, 178, 195
and personification of sins 14, 195
see also Marlowe, Christopher; Sachs, Hans
Dronke, P. 199 n.23
drunkenness
in Aquinas 97
in Gerson 146
dualism, moral
and Aquinas 97–8, 101
and Cassian 96
Duffell, M. J. and Martinique, B. 242 n.12
Duffy, Eamon 166
dullness of sense, as daughter of gluttony *102*, *105*
Dunbar, William, *The Dance of the Seven Deadly Sins* 182
Dunlop, Fiona S. 175
duplicity *see* deceit

Ebendorfer, Thomas 288
eccentricity, as daughter of vainglory 94, *105*
economy, and monastic wealth 29–30
Edmund of Abingdon, *Speculum ecclesiae* 58–61
Edwards, A. S. G. 254 n.40
effeminacy, in Aquinas *105*
Elias, Norbert 287
Elizabeth I, and critique of court 185–7
Elliot, Dyan 138 n.24
emotions
and wrath 8
see also passion
England
and theology of the vices 57–64, 65–85, 157–88
see also court, English; literature
envy (*invidia*)
in 15th-century music 220
in Aquinas 91, 92–3, *103*
in Beheim 287, 292, 294–5
in Bosch 270, *271*, 272
and charity 15, *103*, 239–41, 244, 249–51, 254–9, 270
in Chaucer 241, 243, 245, 248
in Dante 233
daughters 94–5, *103*, 201, 210
in Elizabethan drama 178
in Gerson 136, 137
in Gower 242, 243–4, 247–54
in Guillaume de Machaut 214–19
and passion of Christ 121
in Peraldus 294
in *Piers Plowman* 180–1
in Reformation polemic 170
in *Roman de Fauvel* 19, 193, 201, 209, 211–13, 218–19, 220
in Sachs 305–6, 312
in Spenser 186, 223
in 'The Tale of Constance' 15
in *Vices and Virtues* 83
Epistel des Rabbi Samuel an Rabbi Isaac 286–7
Erchantnuzz der sund (Knowledge of Sin) 15, 282, 288–91, 293–5

This content downloaded from 155.69.24.171 on Thu, 12 May 2016 13:01:48 UTC
All use subject to http://about.jstor.org/terms

estate society 51, 56–7, 58–61, 181
ethics
  community 180
  virtue 11, 53
Evagrius of Pontus 146, 150, 159, 223, 226
evil
  ambiguities 8–9, 154, 182
  in Aquinas 91–2, 98
  in Beheim 290, 295
  in Cassian 88–9
  in Dante 223, 230
  in medieval music 192, 193–4, 202
  in modern culture 165–6, 224–6
  in Reformation polemic 172
evil eye 261–2, 272
exemplum 168
  in 15th-century sermon 109, 115, 123–4
  and Beheim 287, 293
  and Gower 15, 239–59
  Virgin Mary as 232
eye of God 272–3, 281

faithlessness 148
falsehood
  in Aquinas *104*
  in Gerson 153
  in Gower 243, 247–8
feebleness, and sloth 112, 113–15, 121
Felipe II of Spain 263, 278
filiae vitiorum 9–10, *see also* sins, deadly, daughters
Fincher, David 225
flattery, in Aquinas *104*
Fletcher, Phineas, *The Purple Island* 187 n.104
Floret/Florens/Neuma (motet) *204*, 205–10, *207*, 213, 215
folly, as daughter of lust *103*
fortitude, in Aquinas *104–5*
Foucault, Michel, and panopticon 15, 262–3, 273, 276, 281
France, 13th-century 54-7, *see also* court, French
Frank, R. W. Jr. 254 n.40
fraud
  in Aquinas 86, *103*, *104*
  in Gerson 137
Frederick III, Emperor 284
frenzy, in Gerson 146
Frontinus, Sextus Iulius, *Strategemata* 124 n.50
Fulda monastery, and monastic labor 37–9

Gallacher, Patrick J. 244, 253
Ganz, David 22–3 n.13
gaze
  divine 272–4, 276, 281
  and introspection 15, 274
  and surveillance 142, 153, 262
Gelfand, Laura 271, 295–6
gender
  and deadly sins 8–9, 138–9 n.24, 271
Gerard de Vliederhoven 274
Germany
  early modern 15–16
  and lay spirituality 282–303
  and warrior ethos 48
Gerson, Jean
  Accipietis virtutem (May you receive the virtue) 151–2
  Adorabunt eum (They will adore him) 142, 145–8, 150–1, 153
  Contra curiositatem studentium (Against the Curiosity of Scholars) 140, 155
  and deadly sins tradition 132–4, 141, 145–55
  Manual for Simple People (Doctrinal aux simples gens) 132 n.1, 135–8, 140–1, 150, 153, 156
  Miroir de l'ame 140 n.29
  Opus tripartitum 133 n.3, 140 n.29
  and pastoral theology 132–3, 135, 140
  and political discourse 6, 13, 132–56
  Quaerite Dominum (Seek the Lord) 141–2, 147, 150, 153
  Vivat rex (Long live the king) 153–6
Gibson, Walter 272
Giotto di Bondone, Arena Chapel frescoes 7
Glorieux, Palémon 133–6 n.10
gluttony (*gula*)
  in Aquinas 91, 92, *105*, 264
  in Beheim 287, 292, 293
  in Bosch 264–6, 271, 275
  in Cassian 78
  in Dante 233
  daughters 210

This content downloaded from 155.69.24.171 on Thu, 12 May 2016 13:01:48 UTC
All use subject to http://about.jstor.org/terms

in Elizabethan drama 178
in medieval music 201
and monastic reforms 19, 25
and passion of Christ 108, 122
in Peraldus 290
in *Piers Plowman* 181
and pleasure 91
in Reformation polemic 170, 172
in Sachs 306, 312
in Spenser 186
and taste 7–8, 108
Gnosticism
and dualism 98, 101
and seven sins 88
Goddard, John 184–5, *184*
Golden Mean 11
good
in Aquinas 91–3, 95, 97–9
inability to recognize 263
Good Friday sermons 13, 107–31
Gower, John
Confessio Amantis: 'Demetrius and Perseus' 248, 252, 256; 'The Tale of Constance' 15, 61 n.47, 239–59; 'The Tale of Constantine and Sylvester' 256–7; 'The Tale of the False Bachelor' 253; 'The Tale of the Travelers and the Angel' 252–3
Mirour de l'omme 61–2
Gragnolati, M. 232 n.26
Gratian, *Decretum* 74
greed *see* avarice; covetousness; usury
Green, Richard Firth 181
Gregory I 'the Great', Pope
and asceticism 89, 150 n.68, 287
and authority of clergy 139 n.26
and daughters of deadly sins 9–10, 94, 100, 206
list of deadly sins 14, 159, 213, 219: and Aquinas 13, 85–9, 93–4, 96, 97, 102; and Dante 223, 226; and *Vices and Virtues* 83
Moralia in Job 46, 78, 98, 99 n.37, 206–8, *207*, 290
and pride and arrogance 49–50, 52, 59–60, 97
Gregory VII, Pope, and monastic reforms 42
Grosseteste, Robert, *Templum Dei* 58–61
Guido of Arezzo 194
guile, as daughter of covetousness *103*
Guillaume de Digulleville (Deguileville), *Le Pèlerinage de la vie humaine* 183 n.94, 214
gula see gluttony
Gurr, Andrew 176

hagiography, monastic, and the senses 149
Hahn, Thomas 76–7
Haito of Reichnau 36
Hali Meidhad 76
hamartiology
and aristocracy 5
and emotions 8–9
and gender 8
studies 1–15
and three modes of activity 11
see also sins, deadly
Hamm, Berndt 285
happiness, in Aquinas 91, 95 n.29, 101–2
Harvey, Gabriel 176
hatred
in Aquinas 95, *103*
in Gerson 146, 153
in medieval music 199
hatred of God, as daughter of lust 95, *105*
hearing, and sin 8
heart, and memory 277–8
Hecht, Anthony 225
Heinrich von Langenstein, *Erchantnuzz der sund (Knowledge of Sin)* 15, 282, 288–91, 293–5
Helisachar, Abbot 28
Hell
in Bosch 275–6
in *Sawles Warde* 73–4
in *Vices and Virtues* 73
Henry of Ghent 139
Henry of Rimini 57 n.31
Henry of Segusio 159
heresy
in Aquinas *102*
and sloth 29
theologians as defence from 139, 145
hierarchy
ecclesiastical, in Gerson 133, 138–9
social 44, 58, 61–2, 64, 270–1, 308–20

This content downloaded from 155.69.24.171 on Thu, 12 May 2016 13:01:48 UTC
All use subject to http://about.jstor.org/terms

Hildegard of Bingen, *Ordo virtutum* 192
Hildemar of Corbie 39–42
Hilton, Walter 84
Holcot, Robert 63–4
Holthausen, F. 71 n.32, 73, 79, 84
Holy Spirit
  seven gifts 89, 100, *106*, 139, 226
  and University of Paris 132, 152
hope
  in Aquinas *103*
  firm (*firma spes*) 74
Hugh of St-Victor, *De quinque septenis* 99–100, 102, *106*, 228
humanism
  English 160, 164
  French 144 n.4, 145, 213, 219–20
human nature
  and Aquinas 3, 96
  and person and role 52, 61
Hume, David 98 n.34
humility
  in Aquinas 53, 88, *105*
  in Bernard of Clairvaux 50 n.15
  and moralized picture 111, 120
  in *Vices and Virtues* 80
Hummer, Hans 29 n.38
hypocrisy
  as daughter of vainglory 94, *104*, *105*
  and envy 244

iactantia see boastfulness
iconography 6–7, 186
  musical 221–2
idleness (*otiositas*)
  and monastic life 21, 30–1, 34–5, 39
  in Spenser 186
ignorance, and arrogance 54
imitation of Christ 273, 274, 276
impatience, in *Vices and Virtues* 71
imprudence, in Aquinas *103*
inconstancy, as daughter of lust 95, *103*, *105*
indignation, as daughter of anger *105*
individual and society
  and arrogance 12, 44, 48–9, 51, 53–4, 56, 64, 314
  in Lutheran culture 307
ingratitude, in Aquinas *104*
injustice, in Gerson 153
Innocent III, Pope (Lotario of Segni) 51–2
inobedientia see disobedience
insensibility *105*
  to mercy *104*
insolence 54
intemperance, in Aquinas *105*
introspection 6, 15, 274
invidia see envy
ira see anger
irony, in Aquinas *104*
irreligion, in Aquinas *104*
Irvine, Susan 68
Isidore of Seville 35, 36, 86, 89

Jerome 63, 73, 74, 93, 145, 291, 294
John de Burgh 60 n.41
John of Freiburg, manual for confessors 288
John of la Rochelle (John of Rupella), *Summa vitiorum* 52, 87, 88, 95 n.30
John of Monzon 139 n.27, 144 n.42
John of Reading 175
Jolliffe, P. S. 67
Jordan, M. 86 n.3
Josquin des Prez, *Fama malum* 220
justice
  in Aquinas 101–2, *103–4*
  in Bosch 263–4, 270
Justice, Steven 181–2

Katzenellenbogen, Adolf 6
Keiser, George R. 246, 254 n.40
Kleinberg, Aviad 164
Knapp, Fritz Peter 289
knowledge
  arrogance and ignorance 54, 60
  and power 50–1
Koerner, Joseph 272–3
Kruger, Steven F. 246

labor
  manual 34–7, 39–41
  monastic 12, 19–25, 27, 29–37, 41, 42
  and Three Orders 20 n.2
laity
  as female 138 n.24
  see also Beheim, Michel
Lambeth homilies 13, 65, 67, 78
Lane, John, *Tom Tell-Troths message* 183

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All use subject to http://about.jstor.org/terms

Langenstein, Heinrich von *see* Heinrich von Langenstein
Langland, William, *Piers Plowman* 180–1
Langton, Stephen, archbishop of Canterbury 69–70, 77
The Lanterne of Li3t 166–7
Last Judgment
  in Beheim 293
  in Gerson 136
  in *Vices and Virtues* 76
Lateran Council, Fourth (1215–16)
  and confession 3, 69, 226–7
  De fide catholica 77
  and education of clergy 69
  and *pastoralia* 4, 53, 70, 84
Lateran Council, Third (1179)
  and education of clergy 69
  pastoral reforms 12, 68
Latimer, Hugh 167–8
Latini, Brunetto, *Il tessoretto* 227–8, 233
Laud, William 172
Laurent/Lorens, Friar, *Somme le roi* 55–7, 58, 67 n.10, 84, 162, 203
laziness *see acedia*
lechery *see* lust
Leech-Wilkinson, Daniel 208–9, 213
Le Goff, Jacques 76, 229 n.16, 231
Leidrad of Lyons 32, 33
liberality, in Aquinas 88, 101–2
Lifshitz, Felice 24 n.16
literature 1–2
  13th-century English 13, 65, 67–9
  early-modern German 15–16, 282–303
  homiletic 3
  Middle English: dialogue 65–84; sermons 107–31; and *Vices and Virtues* 53, 65–84
  Old English 47 n.8, 66–8, 74
  pastoral 3–5, 65–84
  penitential 180, 240 n.5, *see also* Dante Alighieri; manuals, penitential; *Roman de Fauvel*; Spenser, Edmund
  and sources 286
  and theology of piety 284–5
Lollardy 166–7
Lord's Prayer, seven petitions 89, 100, 195, 226
Lorenz, Friar *see* Laurent/Lorens, Friar
Lotario of Segni, *De contemptu mundi* 51–2
Lottin, O. 87
Louis IX of France 199 n.23
Louis X of France 203
Louis the Pious, Emperor 22, 38
love
  in Aquinas *103*
  in Dante 234–5
  for God 263, 272, 276
  in Peraldus 232
Love, Nicholas 84
lust (*luxuria*)
  in Aquinas 91, 92, *103*, *105*
  in Beheim 15, 287, 290, 292, 295, 296, 298–302
  in Bonaventure 162
  in Bosch 266–9, *267*, 275, 295
  in Dante 233, 235
  daughters 95–6, 201 n.26, 210
  in Elizabethan drama 178–9
  as excess of love 232
  in Gerson 136, 153
  in medieval music 199, 201, 210
  and passion of Christ 122
  in *Piers Plowman* 180
  in Reformation polemic 170
  in Sachs 306, 312, 315
  studies 10
  and women 5
Lutheranism
  and catechism legend 307–11, 316, 318
  and deadly sins tradition 304, 305–7
  and Decalogue 16, 161–3, 168, 307, 319–20
  and sexuality 315–16
Luther, Martin 308, 312, 313, 315
luxuria
  as extravagance 25, 34
  see also lust
Lydgate, John 178
  The Assembly of Gods 182
lying
  in Aquinas *104*
  in Gerson 146, 153
  in Reformation polemic 171
  in *Vices and Virtues* 71

Mcdaniel, Rhonda L. 78

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All use subject to http://about.jstor.org/terms

McGuire, Brian Patrick 151 n.71, 154 n.91
Machaut, Guillaume de 14, 191, 213–19
  Motet 9 214–19, *216–17*
McLuhan, Marshall 6
magnanimity, in Aquinas 88, *104*
Mainy, Richard 168–71
Malachy of Ireland, *De veneno vitiorum* 161
Malone, Michael 225
Mannyng, Robert, of Brunne 60, 225
man of sin, in Beheim 295
manuals, penitential 13, 59–60, 63, 162, 227, 240 n.5
  and Aquinas 88, 98
  and arrogance 48
  and envy 241
  and Gerson 132 n.1, 135–8
  and John of Freiburg 288
  and sloth 21–2
  and *Vices and Virtues* 69–75
manuscripts
  Amiens, Bibliothèque municipale MS 112 193 n.10
  Brussels, Bibliothèque royale MS 19606 205 n.40
  Cambrai, Bibliothèque municipale MS 1328 205 n.40
  Cambridge, Emmanuel College MS 1.4.4 59 n.40
  Cambridge, Jesus College MS Q. A. 13 161 n.12
  Cambridge, Jesus College MS Q. B. 3 (20) 58 n.34
  Cambridge, Pembroke College MS 21 52 n.20
  Cambridge, St John's College MS S.30 56 n.30
  Cambridge, Trinity College MS B.14.52 67 n.13
  Cambridge, University Library MS Ff.1.17 58 n.34
  Cambridge, University Library MS Gg.1.13 60 n.41
  London, British Library MS Egerton 274 199 n.22
  London, British Library MS Stowe 34, and *Vices and Virtues* 65–84
  London, British Library MS Vespasian D xiv, homilies 74, 78
  London, Dulwich College MS XIX 177
  London, Lambeth Palace Library MS 487 67 n.13
  Oxford, Bodleian Library MS lat. th. d. 1 107–31
  Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France MS fr. 1584 214 n.56
  Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France MS lat. 16417 91 n.21
  Trento, Castello del Buonconsiglio, Monumenti e collezioni provinciale MS 1374 220 n.71
Marchettus of Padua, *Ave regina celorum* 195
Marlowe, Christopher, *Doctor Faustus* 179, 180
Mary Queen of Scots 170
masculinity, and violence 317
Mechtild of Hackeborn 223, 231
Medina, J. J. 225 n.4
Medwall, Henry, *Nature* 175–6
meekness, in Aquinas 88, *105*
Melanchthon, Philip 307–11, 316, 317, 318
memory, and Bosch 277–8
Merrill, Elizabeth 72
Meunier, Pierre 225
Milhaven, J. G. 92 n.24
Millett, Bella 67, 68, 70
Minet-Mahy, V. 150 n.69, 151 n.70
Minnis, Alastair J. 286
Miroir du monde 55
mirrors 272
  of princes 5, 61–2, 77 n.69, 135, 203
misogyny, clerical 5–6
Mitchell, J. Allen 257, 258–9 n.57
mobility, social, and arrogance 51, 53–4, 56–8, 62
modernity
  and arrogance 64
  and deadly sins 157–88
  and periodization 158–9
  and the senses 6, 150
modesty, in Aquinas *105*
monasticism
  12th- and 13th-century 49, 68, 77–9
  Carolingian: and *acedia* 12, 19–42; Benedictine reforms 19–21, 23, 32–7
  and contemplative life 20, 33, 36, 39–41
  legacy of reforms 39–42

This content downloaded from 155.69.24.171 on Thu, 12 May 2016 13:01:48 UTC
All use subject to http://about.jstor.org/terms

and prayer 22
and property-holding 29
resistance to reform 37–9
and status of work 29–32
see also asceticism
Moore, E. 228 n.14
morality
and deadly sins 11
and the state 48–9
and virtue 11, 13, 14
morality plays 173–5, 178, 195
More, Thomas, *The Four Last Things* 160
Morgan, A. 229 n.16, 232 n.24
Morral, J. B. 142 n.40
motets, medieval 198
in Guillaume de Machaut 213–19
in *Roman de Fauvel* 201–13
Müller, Siegfried 318 n.74
music
and *ars nova* 205
conductus 14, 16, 198–201, 202, 219
decline in use of sins 219–22
liturgical and pedagogical 193–8
and lust 269
motets, medieval 198: in Guillaume de Machaut 213–19; in *Roman de Fauvel* 201–13
see also Beheim, Michel

Nashe, Thomas, *Pierce Penilesse* 176, 183
Nelson, Janet 20 n.2
Newhauser, Richard
and avarice 201 n.29
and Chaucer 241
and civility 287
and definition of sins 21
and envy and charity 243, 244, 247 n.29, 249, 250 n.34
and *Erchantnuzz der sund* 288
and monasticism 150 n.68
and treatises on virtues and vices 1 n.3, 45 n.2, 132 n.1, 135 n.8, 192 n.2, 243, 244
Newman, Barbara 154
Nicholas of Cusa, *Vision of God* 273
Nicholson, Peter 240 n.2, 245
Nikolaus von Dinkelsbühl 288–9
nobility
and arrogance 56, 296–7
and avarice 13
critiques 5, 15–16, 133–4, 156, 309
and warrior ethos 48
see also court
Nolan, B. 254 n.40
numerology, in Beheim 291

oaths, swearing 71
obedience 80
in Gerson 138, 141
oblates *see* child oblation
obstinacy, as daughter of vainglory 94, *105*
O'Connor, Flannery 226
Odo of Cheriton 58
O livor anxie/Inter amenitatis/revertenti 220
Olsen, Alexandra Hennessy 242, 245
Olsson, Kurt 254–5, 258–9
Ong, Walter 6
orality theory 6
ordering of deadly sins
in Beheim 287 n.11, 290–1, 296
in Bosch 263
in Cassian 9–10, 13, 65–6, 71, 77–8, 83, 86, 88, 159, 290
in Chaucer 241
in Dante 223, 233
in Gregory the Great 14, 159, 213, 219, 228, 241, 290: and Aquinas 13, 102; and Dante 223, 226; and *Vices and Virtues* 83
in medieval music 219
in Peraldus 290
Öser, Irmhart 286
otiositas see idleness
Ouy, Gilbert 133 n.3, 135–6 n.10
Ozment, Steven E. 155 n.97

Pachomius, Rule 26
pageantry of vices 157, 179, 185–8
painting, and deadly sins 7, 15
papacy
schism of 1378 133, 134 n.6, 142–3 n.40, 144–6, 151
and University of Paris 140–1 n.31, 143, 144–5, 148
Paris, Notre Dame school 198
Paris, University of
and French court 140–1 n.31, 142–4, 150–4

This content downloaded from 155.69.24.171 on Thu, 12 May 2016 13:01:48 UTC
All use subject to http://about.jstor.org/terms

and Gerson 6, 13, 132, 134–5, 139 n.26, 140, 144
as Holy Spirit 132, 152
and intellectual authority 133, 134–6, 138, 139–40, 142, 145–6, 151–5
and papal schism 140–1 n.31, 144–5, 148
and *pastoralia* 69, 140
as visionary daughter of the king 153–4
Pascoe, L. 138 n.24
passion, and sin 85, 90–4, 98, 101, 133
pastoralia
12th- and 13th-century 68–70
post-Lateran IV 4–5, 53, 70
Pater Noster play 195
patience, in Aquinas *105*
Patterson, Lee 158
Paul the Deacon 194 n.14
Paull, Michael R. 245
peacock, as symbol of pride *184*, 185
Peasants' Rising (1381) 181–2
Peck, Russell 256–7
penance
in *De vera et falsa poenitentia* 74–5
in *Vices and Virtues* 81–2
penitentials *see* manuals, penitential
Peraldus, William, *Summa de vitiis et virtutibus* 4, 87, 287-8, 290
and arrogance 54, 60
and Dante 14, 223, 231–2, 234–5
and deviant speech 10, 232
perfection
and pride 91
and senses 148–9
in *Vices and Virtues* 81
periodization, critique 158
perjury, as daughter of covetousness *104*
perseverance, in Aquinas *105*
personification
of sins 88, 149–50, 154, 179, 180–3, 295: and animals 182, 183–6, 226, 293–5, 301–2; and drama 14, 195, 304, 305, 313, 319–20; and music 203
of virtues 111, 153–4
pertinacity, in Aquinas *105*
Peter the Chanter 69
Peter Comestor, *Scholastica historia* 114
Peter Lombard 2
Liber sententiarum 74, 87, 94, 161, 162
Peuntner, Thomas 288–9
Philip the Chancellor 14, 191, 202
Summa de bono 199, 201
Veritas equitas 196–7, 198–9, 201, 205, 220 n.73
Vitia virtutibus 198 n.20, 199–201, *200*
Philip IV of France 143 n.41
Philip V of France 203
Philip, Nicholas 109
Philo of Alexandria, and the senses 148–9
piety
affective 14, 49
theology of 284–5
Plan of St Gall 22, 36–7
Plato, and the senses 148
'The platt of The Secound parte of the Seuen Deadlie Sinns' 176–8, *177*
pleasure
and gluttony 91
and happiness 101
and the senses 148–9
sexual 91, 92, 93, 95–6, 153
Poema morale 73
poetry *see* Beheim, Michel; literature; Spenser, Edmund
polemics, Reformation, and deadly sins 14, 166–73, 180, 185–8, 313
politics
and aristocratic audiences 5, 13, 134, 140–1, 145–6
and arrogance 12, 46–9, 52–3, 59, 61–2, 64
literary critiques 180–8
musical critique 202–3
and spirituality 133–4
see also state; theology, political
power
and arrogance 10, 43–4, 45–7, 49, 52, 62
centralization 49
and knowledge 50–1
prayer (*oratio sancta*), in *Vices and Virtues* 74
precipitation, in Aquinas *103*
presumption 54, 57, 61
in Aquinas *103*, *105*
in Beheim 296
in Gerson 146, 147, 153
pride (*superbia*)
17th-century depiction 184–5, *184*

This content downloaded from 155.69.24.171 on Thu, 12 May 2016 13:01:48 UTC
All use subject to http://about.jstor.org/terms

21st-century views 43–4
in Aquinas 88, 91, 93, 97–8, *105*
and arrogance 10, 43, 49, 51–4, 57, 60–1
in Beheim 15, 287, 290, 292, 296–8
in Bosch *268*, 269–70, 276, 295
in Cassian 79
and curiosity 10, *105*, 155
in Dante 233, 235–6
in Elizabethan drama 178
as female 298
in Gerson 136, 137, 141–2, 147, 153, 155–6
gravity 97–8
in Guillaume de Machaut 214–19
intellectual 155
in Lane 183
in morality plays 175
in More 160
and passion of Christ 108, 112–13, 120–1
and perfection 91
in *Piers Plowman* 180
in Reformation polemic 169
in *Roman de Fauvel* 199, 201
in Sachs 305, 306, 312
in Stuart drama 179
subdivisions 54–5, 58–9, 159
in *Vices and Virtues* 71, 78
and women 5
see also arrogance; vainglory
prodigality, in Aquinas 97, *104*
Protestantism, and deadly sins tradition 14, 158, 161, 163–5, 166–73, 304–20
prudence, in Aquinas *103*
Prudentius, Aurelius Clemens, *Psychomachia* 89, 149, 150
Prynne, William, *A Briefe Svrvey and Censvre of Mr Cozens* 172
Pseudo-Dionysius 138
psychomachia 175, 199, *see also* Prudentius
Puff, Helmut 288
punishment 8
in Aquinas 88, 91, 99
in Bosch 275–6
in confessors' manuals 88
in Dante 14, 223, 227, 229–30, 233–5
in Gower 251, 252–3
monastic 35, 41
in *Vices and Virtues* 75
Purgatory
in Dante 228–38
in *Vices and Virtues* 76
pusillanimity, in Aquinas *105*
Pynchon, Thomas 225

quarrelling, in Aquinas *103*, *104*, *105*
Quinel (Quivel), Peter, *Summula* 59

rabble-rousing, in Sachs 317
rashness, as daughter of lust 95, *105*
Ratgar of Fulda 37–9, 41
Raymund of Pennaforte
Summa ... casuum conscientiae 206 n.44
Summa de poenitentia et matrimonio 288
reason
and Beheim 289, 293, 301–2
and lust 95–6
and royal behavior 142, 146–7, 150–1
recklessness, in Gerson 146, 148
Redemption
in medieval art 7, 272–3
in medieval preaching 4, 11, 107–8, 110, 115–19
Reformation
and Decalogue 16, 161–3, 319–20
and early modernity 159 n.5, 161
precursors 180
and religious polemics 14, 166–73, 180, 185–8, 313
and social order 304–20
see also Protestantism
Renaissance
and deadly sins tradition 158, 160, 165
and music 193
repentance, and pride 141–2
responsories 192–3, 218
restlessness, as daughter of covetousness *104*
reviling, as daughter of anger *104*
rhetoric, pastoral, in Gower 239–40, 243
Ricks, Christopher 225
righteousness, in *Vices and Virtues* 81
Rigrannus of Le Mans 41–2
Robert of Flamborough, *Liber poenitentialis* 53–4
Roberts, Jane 68

This content downloaded from 155.69.24.171 on Thu, 12 May 2016 13:01:48 UTC
All use subject to http://about.jstor.org/terms

Roman de Fauvel 14, 191, 201–13, *204*
Carnalitas luxuria 205, 210–13, *211*, 219
Facilius a nobis/Alieni boni/Imperfecte canite 211–13, *212*, 218
Floret/Florens/Neuma (motet) *204*, 205–10, *207*, 213, 215, 218
Inflammatus (motet) 209 n.49, 218–19, 220
Romes wickednes 171–2
Roper, Lyndal 317
Rosemond, Godescalc of Eindhoven 63 n.50
Rösener, Werner 20 n.2
Rouche, Michel 25 n.21
Rousse, John 140–1 n.31
Rule of Benedict 22, 26–7, 33–6, 39–40, 42, 79
Rule of Ferriolus 35
Rule of Stephan 30–1
Rupert of Deutz 89 n.17
Rusconi, Roberto 3

Sachs, Hans, *Die ungeleichen Kinder Evas (The Unequal Children of Eve)* 15–16, 304–20
and catechism legend 307–11, 316
and social order 311–17
and virtue 318–19
sadness *see* sorrow
St Gall, Plan 22, 36–7
Saint-Seine monastery
and Benedict of Aniane 23–9, 30, 32
and monastic labor 37–8, 42
salvation
in Beheim 285, 298, 302
in Bosch 272–3
in Gerson 141
in Sachs 309, 312–13, 318
in Spenser 158
Sanctus namque Quintinus (responsory) 193
satiety, and avarice 91
Savage, D. 225 n.4
Savonarola, Girolamo 63 n.50
Sawles Warde 73–4
scandal, in Aquinas *103*
Scanlon, Larry 180, 240 n.5, 258 n.53
schism, papal (1378)
and Gerson 133, 134 n.6, 140–1 n.31, 142–3 n.40, 144, 145–6, 148, 151
and University of Paris 140–1 n.31, 144–5, 148
scholasticism
and arrogance 49, 55–7, 58
and deadly sins 2, 87, 102
see also Aquinas, Thomas
scripts
Carolingian 22–3 n.13
Old and Middle English 68
secularization 165
self-love, as daughter of lust 95, *105*
self-will, in *Vices and Virtues* 71
Semmler, Josef 21 n.5, 22
senses 6–8, 121
in Gerson 134, 148–50, 155
in *Vices and Virtues* 73–4
sermons 3–5, 6, 67–9, 87
ad status 5
court 132–3, 141–56
dialogue form 142
division of material 110, 120, 125
and drama 107–31, 195
Good Friday 13, 107–31
introductio thematis 110, 120, 124–5
macaronic 13, 108–9
political 134–5, 142, 145–52
principal parts 108, 110–15, 117–19, 120–2, 125–31
protheme 110–11, 120, 123–4
and social criticism 181
seven, significance 89, 100–1, *106*, 226, 280
sexuality 10, 290
in Aquinas 92, 93, 95–6
female 15
in Gerson 153
in Lutheranism 315–16
and social order 315
Shakespeare, William
Hamlet 230 n.19
King Lear 178 n.72
Measure for Measure 178–9
Sharpless, S. J. 224 n.2
sight *see* vision
Simpson, James 159 n.5
sin
as disease 108–9, 110, 112, 226, 302
mortal and venial 44, 75, 132 n.1, 230–1, 291

This content downloaded from 155.69.24.171 on Thu, 12 May 2016 13:01:48 UTC
All use subject to http://about.jstor.org/terms

original 312
origins 287
singularity, in Gerson 155
sins, deadly 1, 9–16, 21, 44
in 12th- and 13th-century *pastoralia* 68–71
acronyms 159, 202
alternative systems 11
in Aquinas 2–3, 91–2, 94–7, 98–9, *102–6*
and associated animals 182, 183–6, 226, 293–5
changes in meaning 21, 43–4, 49, 59–61, 307
contexts 12–14, 135
and contrary virtues 5, 13, 14, 107–8, 174–5
cultural construction 135 n.8, 165
daughters 86, 90, 94–6, 99, 146, 210, 226, 232, *see also filiae vitiorum*
as deficiency 11, 13, 45, 49–50, 57–62, 85, 88, 93, *104–5*
depictions 184–5, *184*
disguised as virtues 175–6
as excess 11, 13, 53–4, 85, 88, 93, *104–5*, 232, 235
and forces of evil 88–9
gravity 97–8, 99, 226
as lack of charity 136–9
in Lollard thought 166–7
in medieval music 14, 191–222
as medieval tradition 157, 159, 223–5, 238
in modern culture 43–4, 165–6, 187, 223–6
and noncardinal sins 11, 65–6, 75, 88, 90, 161–2, 201, 206, 210: in Alcuin 47, 74, 89 n.17
number: eight 66, 68, 71, 77–8, 159, 164; seven 10–11, 85–90, 157, 159
origins 99, 160, 164, 232
and passion 85, 90–4, 98, 101
and passion of Christ 13, 107–31
pastoral role 98–9
and politics 134–5
in Protestantism 14, 158, 161, 163–5, 166–73, 304–20
and seven diseases cured by Christ 107, 108, 112–19, 120
as sickness 89
subcategories 9, 10, 54–5
see also hamartiology; ordering of deadly sins; personification, of sins
skepticism, and Gerson 155–6 n.99
Slavick, Jason 225 n.5
sloth *see acedia*
Smalley, Beryl 110
Smaragdus of St Mihiel, *Expositio in Regulam sancti Benedicti* 34–6, 39, 41, 42
smell, sense of 8
sobriety, in Aquinas *105*
society
class-based 44, 58, 61–2, 64, 270–1
estate-based 51, 56–7, 58–61, 181
and individual 12, 44, 48–9, 51, 53–4, 56, 64, 307, 314
and social criticism 180–3, 186, 202–3
and social order 304-20, *see also* mobility, social
sodomy, in Beheim 288 n.16, 298, 299–300
Somme le roi see Laurent/Lorens, Friar, *Somme le roi*
sorrow (*tristitia*)
as daughter of envy 95
in Gerson 146
in Gower 243, 247, 250
in *Vices and Virtues* 71, 77–8, 79
soul, in Gerson 133, 138, 146–7
Speculum religiosorum 61
speech, sins of 10, 71, 94, *103–4*, 171, 232, 243–4, 247–8
Spencer, H. L. 109 n.9
Spenser, Edmund, *Faerie Queene* 14, 157–9, 160, 185–8, 223
spirituality
affective 14, 49–50
devotional literature 282, 287–96
and discernment 149, 154, 156
Protestant 158, 188
and symbolism 89–90
Squarcialupi Codex 214 n.58
state, Carolingian 12, 48–9
steadfastness, as antithesis of sloth 114–15, 119
Stevens, J. E. 193 n.8
Straw, Carole 78, 88–9
strife, as daughter of anger *103*
sufficientia 90
Sullivan, Richard E. 22, 36–7
summae, and vices 2

This content downloaded from 155.69.24.171 on Thu, 12 May 2016 13:01:48 UTC
All use subject to http://about.jstor.org/terms

Summa fratris Alexandri 87
superbia see pride
superstition, in Aquinas *104*
supplantation 247, 252
Suso, Henry, *Horologium Sapientiae* 218
swelling of the mind, as daughter of anger *105*
symbolism
  and music 221–2
  number 209 n.49
  political 134, 135
  and spirituality 89–90

Taber, Douglass 144 n.42, 148 n.58, 152 n.80
Tabletop of the Seven Deadly Sins see Bosch, Hieronymus
tale-bearing
  in Aquinas 95, 97, *103*
  as daughter of envy 95, *103*, *104*
Tarlton, Richard, *The seauen Deadly sinnes* 176–8
taste, and gluttony 7–8, 108
temperance
  in Aquinas *105*
  in Spenser 157
temptation, and the senses 149–50
Ten Commandments *see* Decalogue
Tentler, Thomas N. 315
Theodulf of Orléans 33
theology
  academic: and arrogance 44–5, 49, 51–3, 62–4; and contemplation 155–6; and deadly sins 2; and pastoral theology 12–13, 132–3, 135, 140, 288
  confessional 57
  and intellectual authority 132, 133, 134–6, 138–42, 145–6, 151–6
  penitential 164–5, 174
  of piety 284–5
  political 46–7, 64, 132–3, 140–1
Thomas Aquinas *see* Aquinas, Thomas
Thomas of Chobham, *Summa confessorum* 69
Thomas of Ireland, *Manipulus florum* 127 n.76, 131 n.101
thoughtlessness, as daughter of lust 95, *103*, *105*
thoughts, evil 83, 146, 164, 191 n.1
tithes, and monastic wealth 29
tonaries 194
touch, and sensory perception 8
treachery, as daughter of covetousness *104*
treatises, medieval
  and arrogance 12, 43–64
  and confessors' manuals 69–70, 132 n.1
tree of vices and of virtues 185 n.96
Treharne, Elaine and Swan, Mary 68
Trinity homilies 13, 65, 67
Trivet, Nicholas, 'Of the Noble Lady Constance' 15, 239–42, 245–55, 257
typology, in 15th-century sermons 108, 114, 116–19
tyranny, in Sachs 312, 317

Ulrich von Pottenstein 288
unbelief, in Aquinas 97, *102*
unrighteousness, in *Vices and Virtues* 71
Updike, John 225
Urban VI, Pope 144
usurpatio, in Bernard of Clairvaux 50
usury (*avaritia*)
  in Aquinas *104*
  in Gerson 137
  in Sachs 306
  studies 10
  see also avarice; covetousness; greed
Ut queant laxis (hymn) 194

vainglory 47, 49, 51, 54
  in Aquinas 88, 91, 93, *105*
  in Beheim 290, 296–7
  in Dante 235
  daughters 20, 94
  in Gerson 146
  in *Roman de Fauvel* 201, 203, 206, 210
  see also arrogance; pride
value theory 43
vengeance
  anger as 91, 92, *104*
  in Gerson 146
vernacular literature
  French *see* Gerson, Jean; Laurent/Lorens, Friar, *Somme le roi*
  German 15, 16, 282–303
  Italian *see* Dante Alighieri
  Middle English 53, 57, 65–84, 107–31
vice
  and love 263

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and sin 229–30, 231
see also sins, deadly
vices, capital
as eight in number 66, 68, 71, 77–8, 159, 164
see also sins, deadly
Vices and Virtues 5, 12–13, 53, 65–84
and anchorites 79–82
audience 76–84
author 67, 72–6, 77–9
context of production 68–70
and deadly sins 70–3
and dialogue form 53, 72–3
and division of text 82–3
lack of studies on 66–7
and Lambeth and Trinity homilies 13, 65, 67
and monasticism 77–9
and senses 73–4
sources 73–6
and virtues 72, 74
Videns Jacob (responsory) 192, 193, 218
Viennese School of pastoral theology 288–9
Villeponteaux, Mary 187
Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum naturale* 206 n.44
violence
as daughter of covetousness *104*
in Sachs 315, 317
virginity, in *Vices and Virtues* 80
Virgin Mary, as representation of virtue 14, 232
virtue
and happiness 101–2
and morality 11, 13, 14, 53, 84
in Sachs 318–19
virtues
in Aquinas 88, 91, *102–6*
contrary 5, 13, 14, 107–8, 174–5, 318
in medieval music 192
as moderation 11, 85, 89 n.15, 93, 101–2
personification 111, 153–4
as seven 89, 100, *106*, 226
vices seen as 43–4, 92, 155, 223
in *Vices and Virtues* 72, 74
vision
and evil eye 261–2, 272
and introspection 15, 274
and sin 6–7, 15, 270, 272, 280–1
Vision of Thurkill 231

Walach, Luitpold 31
Wallace, David 246 n.26
Wasselynck, R. 89
Wasserstein, Wendy 225
wealth
episcopal 27 n.31
monastic 19, 23, 25, 28, 29–30, 42
royal 141–2
Wegman, Rob 221
Weill, Kurt 220 n.74, 225
Wenzel, Siegfried 2, 3, 12, 21, 67–8, 69 n.25, 231 n.22
and Aquinas 87, 96, 102
and deadly sins as diseases 108
and ordering of sins 290
Wetherbee, Winthrop 245–6, 254, 256
Wido, Margrave of Brittany 47
William of Auvergne
De virtutibus 87, 88
De vitiis et peccatis 87 n.6
William of Auxerre 52
Summa aurea 87
William de Montibus 69
William of Pagula, *Oculus sacerdotis* 59–60
William of St Thierry, and repetition of sin 262
William of Shoreham 57
William of Wadington, *Manuel des pechiez* 60
Witiza *see* Benedict of Aniane
women
and clerical misogyny 5–6
and pride 298
visionary 153
see also anchorites
Wood, Chauncey 258
work *see* labor
wrath *see* anger
Wright, Charles 238
Wulfstan
De fide catholica 77
homilies 67, 74, 78
Wycliffites 166–7
Wyclif, John 221, 283
Wynkin de Worde 63 n.50

Zeeman, E. 67 n.10, 68 n.19, 84

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The tradition of the seven deadly sins played a considerable role in western culture, even after the supposed turning-point of the Protestant Reformation, as the essays collected here demonstrate. The first part of the book addresses such topics as the problem of *acedia* in Carolingian monasticism; the development of medieval thought on arrogance; the blending of tradition and innovation in Aquinas's conceptualization of the sins; the treatment of sin in the pastoral contexts of the early Middle English *Vices and Virtues* and a fifteenth-century sermon from England; the political uses of the deadly sins in the court sermons of Jean Gerson; and the continuing usefulness of the tradition in early modern England. In the second part, the role of the tradition in literature and the arts is considered. Essays look at representations of the sins in French music of the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries; in Dante's *Purgatorio*; in a work by Michel Beheim in pre-Reformation Germany; and in a 1533 play by the German Lutheran writer Hans Sachs. New interpretations are offered of Gower's 'Tale of Constance' and Bosch's *Tabletop of the Seven Deadly Sins*. As a whole, the book significantly enhances our understanding of the multiple uses and meanings of the sins tradition, not only in medieval culture but also in the transition from the medieval to the early modern period.

RICHARD G. NEWHAUSER is Professor of English and Medieval Studies, Arizona State University, Tempe.
SUSAN J. RIDYARD is Professor of History and Director of the Sewanee Medieval Colloquium, The University of the South, Sewanee.

CONTRIBUTORS: Richard G. Newhauser, James B. Williams, Kiril Petkov, Cate Gunn, Eileen C. Sweeney, Holly Johnson, Nancy McLoughlin, Anne Walters Robinson, Peter S. Hawkins, Carol Jamison, Henry Luttikhuizen, William C. McDonald, Kathleen Crowther.

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